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BAND VIII. ENGLISCH
W. REDEN ENGLISCHER STAATSMÄNNER.

FRANZÖSISCHE UND
ENGLISCHE
SCHULBIBLIOTHEK.

LEIPZIG
RENGERSCHE BUCHHANDLUNG
GEBHARDT & WILISCH.

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18. 03. 9

Prospect.

Ein neues, wichtiges Unternehmen
für den fremdsprachlichen Unterricht in höheren Schulen!

In dem unterzeichneten Verlage beginnt soeben zu erscheinen:

Französische und Englische **Schulbibliothek.**

Herausgegeben

von

Otto E. A. Dickmann.

Die **französische** und **englische Schulbibliothek** ist ein hiermit ins Leben getretenes neues Unternehmen, welches, speziell für Schul- und Unterrichtszwecke eingerichtet, Ihrer besonderen gütigen Aufmerksamkeit empfohlen sein möge.

Folgende Grundsätze sind für Gestaltung derselben maßgebend:

1. Die Schulbibliothek bringt **nur Prosawerke** und zwar überwiegend historischen Inhalts.

2. Jeder Band enthält den **Lesestoff für je ein Semester**. Mit Ausnahme der Biographien, welche, ohne Beeinträchtigung des Gesamtbildes, zweckentsprechend gekürzt erscheinen, werden nur Teile eines Ganzen veröffentlicht, die in sich eine Art Ganzes bildend, eine hinreichende Bekanntschaft mit den bedeutendsten Geisteswerken und deren Verfassern ermöglichen.

3. Vor jedem Band erscheint eine dem Gesichtskreis des Schülers entsprechende **Biographie** des Schriftstellers, sowie eine kurze Zusammenstellung alles dessen, was zum vollen Verständnis desselben im voraus zu wissen nötig scheint.

4. Der **Text** ist nach den besten Autoritäten gegeben; die **Orthographie** der Académie von 1877 wird befolgt.

5. Die Sprache der **Anmerkungen** ist deutsch; **dieselben stehen hinter dem Text**.

6. Die **Erklärung** bringt alles sachlich Notwendige ohne gelehrtes Material. **Sprachliche Bemerkungen** werden gegeben, wo eine Eigenheit in der Schreibweise des betreffenden Schriftstellers oder eine Abweichung vom herrschenden Sprachgebrauch vorliegt; die **Grammatik** wird nur ganz ausnahmsweise behandelt,

wenn sich die Schwierigkeit einer Stelle durch die nicht leicht bemerkbare Unterordnung unter eine grammatische Regel heben läßt; auf eine bestimmte Grammatik ist nicht hingewiesen. Die **Synonymik** wird nicht berücksichtigt, weil, wenn sie ihren Zweck als formales Bildungsmittel nicht verfehlen soll, da, wo das Verständnis des Textes und die Wahl des richtigen Ausdrucks selbst eine synonymische Aufklärung erheischt, diese gemeinschaftlich von den Schülern gesucht und unter der unmittelbaren Einwirkung des Lehrers gefunden werden muß. Der **Etymologie** wird kein Platz eingeräumt, weil sie nicht in die Schule gehört; etymologisierende Exkurse in ungezwungener Form verleiten den Schüler zur Oberflächlichkeit und Unwissenschaftlichkeit. Bloße Citate werden möglichst vermieden, ebenso eine Anhäufung von Parallelstellen.

7. **Übersetzungen**, soweit sie nur die Trägheit des Schülers fördern, sind unter allen Umständen ausgeschlossen; ein **Speziallexikon** wird nicht beigegeben.

8. **Aussprachebezeichnungen** werden nur da gegeben, wo die verbreitetsten Wörterbücher und Grammatiken den Schüler im Stich lassen; sie fehlen auch bei den seltener vorkommenden ausländischen Eigennamen in den englischen Texten, weil die gebildeten Engländer und Franzosen bemüht sind, dieselben so auszusprechen, wie sie im Lande selbst ausgesprochen werden.

9. Einzelnen geschichtlichen Stoffen wird eine **Zeittafel** beigegeben.

10. Zur näheren Orientierung werden nach Bedürfnis **Karten und Pläne** in den Text gedruckt oder am Ende beigelegt.

Was die äußere Ausstattung anbelangt, so ist folgendes hervorzuheben:

- a) **Schrift.** Dieselbe entspricht allen von medizinisch-pädagogischen Vereinen gestellten Anforderungen. Sie ist groß, scharf und deutlich lesbar wegen des richtigen Verhältnisses zwischen Höhe der großen und kleinen Buchstaben unter sich und zwischen Buchstabenhöhe und Entfernung der einzelnen Zeilen; selbst schwache Augen dürften lange Zeit ohne Ermüdung diese Schrift lesen können.
- b) **Papier.** Dasselbe ist ein eigens hierzu angefertigter, kräftiger, nicht durchscheinender, guter Stoff von gelblicher Färbung, die sehr wohlthuend auf das Auge wirkt. Das Papier ist satiniert.
- c) **Einband.** Derselbe ist ein flexibler, dauerhafter Ganzleinwandband. Es soll verhindert werden, was leider zu oft der Fall ist, daß der Schüler nach kaum einigen Wochen ein zerrissenes Buch in Händen hat.

Die Schulbibliothek wird nur gebunden ausgegeben.
Der Preis eines jeden Bandes der Schulbibliothek ist auf das billigste normiert.

Dadurch, daß der Umfang der einzelnen Bände nur für ein Semester berechnet ist, wird dem Übelstande abgeholfen, daß der

Schüler dickleibige teure Bände kaufen muß, von denen er in den meisten Fällen kaum die Hälfte liest; ein Umstand, der erfahrungsgemäfs nur Nichtachtung vor der Lektüre erzeugt.

Folgende Bände sind bisher zur Ausgabe gelangt:

- Bd. I. **Michaud, Siège d'Antioche et Prise de Jérusalem.** Erklärt von Dr. F. Hummel. 6 Bgn. mit 3 Plänen. 80 kr.
- Bd. II. **Duruy, Histoire de France de 1560—1643.** Erklärt von Dr. Alfred G. Meyer. $6\frac{1}{4}$ Bgn. mit 3 Kartenskizzen und 1 Specialkarte. 1 fl.
- Bd. III. **Montesquieu, Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence.** Erklärt von Dr. G. Lengnick. $7\frac{1}{4}$ Bogen. 1 fl.
- Bd. IV. **Irving, Christmas.** Erklärt von Dr. G. Tanger. 5 Bgn. 80 kr.
- Bd. V. **Southey, The Life of Nelson.** Erklärt von M. Theilkuhl. $6\frac{1}{2}$ Bgn. mit 2 Plänen und 1 Illustration. 80 kr.
- Bd. VI. **Hume, The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.** Erklärt von Dr. L. Berkenbusch. $6\frac{3}{4}$ Bgn. 1 fl.
- Bd. VII. **Macaulay, State of England in 1685.** Erklärt von Dr. A. Kressner. 8 Bgn. mit 1 Plan. 1 fl.
- Bd. VIII. **Ausgewählte Reden engl. Staatsmänner.** Heft I. (Pitt d. Ä. und d. J.) Erkl. v. Prof. Dr. Winkelmann. $4\frac{1}{4}$ Bgn. 80 kr.
- Bd. IX. **Scott, History of France from 1328—1380.** Erklärt von Dr. H. Fehse. 8 Bgn. mit 1 Karte und 2 Plänen. 1 fl.
- Bd. X. **Michaud, Mœurs et Coutumes des Croisades.** Erklärt von Dr. F. Hummel. $6\frac{3}{4}$ Bgn. 80 kr.
- Bd. XI. **Ausgewählte französ. Kanzelreden** (Bossuet, Fléchier, Massillon). Erkl. von Dr. A. Kressner. $6\frac{1}{2}$ Bgn. 80 kr.
- Bd. XII. **Lanfrey, Campagne de 1806—1807.** Erkl. v. Dr. J. Sarrazin. 8 Bgn. mit 2 Karten. 1 fl.

Das Unternehmen wird fortgesetzt.

Über neuerscheinende Werke erfolgt rechtzeitige Anzeige.

Die Verlagshandlung ist sich bewusst, ihr möglichstes gethan zu haben, um der Schulwelt eine klassische Lektüre in schöner Ausstattung zu billigstem Preise zu übergeben, und hegt die Zuversicht, daß dem Unternehmen eine wohlwollende und fördernde Aufnahme zu Teil wird.

Einführungen erfolgten bisher in:

Baden-Baden, Berlin, Gebweiler, Gmünd, Graz, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Kassel, Leipzig, Liegnitz, Neustadt a. H., Ludwigslust, Nürnberg, Oldenburg, Perleberg, Potsdam, Regensburg, Speyer, Steyr, Straubing, Stuttgart, Wien.

In einer Reihe von Städten ist solche für Ostern 1884 in Aussicht genommen.

Urteile der Presse über die Schulbibliothek.

Das Centralorgan für die Interessen des Realschulwesens, Berlin 1884, Heft 1, sagt im Auszuge:

Zur Empfehlung dieser neuen Schulbibliothek lassen sich zunächst nachfolgende aufseren Vorzüge anführen. Alle Hefte werden in geradezu vorzüglicher Ausstattung hergestellt. Jedes Heft ist als Lektürestoff für ein Semester gedacht, also für je zwei wöchentliche Lektürestunden auf 60 bis 100 Seiten Text bemessen. Jedes Heft wird durch eine dem Gesichtskreis des Schülers ent-

sprechende Biographie des Schriftstellers eingeleitet; hinter dem nach den besten Quellen gegebenen Texte folgen die erklärenden Anmerkungen, sowie, nach Maßgabe des Stoffes, Zeittafeln, Pläne etc.

Dieser empfehlenswerten aufseren Anlage der Dickmannschen Schulbibliothek entspricht auch durchweg der Inhalt in sachlicher Beziehung. In allen acht Heften dieser neuen Schulbibliothek ist eine mustergiltige Darstellung des Textdruckes zu loben, und das ist bei Schulbüchern eine grofse Empfehlung. Die Biographien der Schriftsteller sind knapp und sachlich gehalten;

die Anmerkungen zeichnen sich durch ihre Beschränkung auf das Notwendige aus, wenn schon das Zuviel oder Zuwenig relativ bezw. streitig sein kann.

Ein Speciallexikon ist den Heften der Dickmannschen Schulbibliothek nicht beigegeben; auch sonst sind alle sog. Eselsbrücken mit peinlicher Gewissenhaftigkeit beseitigt. Das ist ein grosser Vorzug dieser Sammlung. In summa: Die obige Bibliothek ist als ein Fortschritt für die französische und englische Schullektüre zu bezeichnen, sie ist die empfehlenswerteste aller bisher erschienenen Sammlungen, welche demselben Zwecke dienen sollen.

Herrigs Archiv, Bd. 70

sagt auf Seite 449/50 u. a.:

Es existieren jetzt mehrere Ausgaben französischer und englischer Schulautoren, und darunter so brauchbare, daß es als gewagtes Unternehmen erscheinen könnte, die Zahl dieser Sammlungen um noch eine zu vermehren. Wenn aber ein Unternehmen mit solchem Nachdruck lanciert wird und sich von vornherein so vorteilhaft einführt, dann muß man seine Berechtigung anerkennen und darf ihm die gebührende Anerkennung nicht versagen. Jedermann kennt die grauen Hefte der Weidmannschen Sammlung und die eleganten gelben Bändchen der Prosateurs von Velhagen & Klasing; jeder Lehrer hat schon das eine oder das andere gern benutzt. Beiden Sammlungen ist jetzt ein gefährlicher Konkurrent erstanden.

Der Redakteur der neuen Schulbibliothek Otto Dickmann kämpft mit offenem Visier und bringt im Prospekt seine Grundsätze in Gegensatz zu denjenigen, die bei jeder der beiden obengenannten Sammlungen obwalteten. Im Gegensatz zu Weidmann, der womöglich ganze Werke bringt und darum oft viel zu viel bietet, will die neue Schulbibliothek in jedem Bändchen den Lesestoff für ein Semester geben und veröffentlicht daher nur „Teile eines Ganzen, die in sich eine Art Ganzes bildend, eine hinreichende Bekanntschaft mit den bedeutendsten Geisteswerken und deren Verfassern ermöglichen.“

Was der Benutzung vieler von den praktischen und beliebten Bändchen von Velhagen & Klasing in der Schule und namentlich in obersten Klassen entgegenstand, war der Umfang des Kommentars, ein Umstand, der auf die doppelte Bestimmung derselben zum Schul- und Privatgebrauch zurückzuführen ist. Wenigstens schwebt strengeren Pädagogen trotz Überbürdungsgeschrei und trotz der Parole „Entlastung“ eine Sammlung französischer Schulautoren als Ideal vor, wie die Teubnersche Bibliothek von Schriftstellern aus dem Altertum. Diese werden nun mit Freuden nach Dickmanns Sammlung greifen, da der Text so gut wie frei von Anmerkungen und der Kommentar, der meist sachliche Erklärungen enthält, als Anhang beigegeben ist.

Die Ausstattung läßt alles weit hinter sich, was bisher von Schulverlegern geleistet wurde. Noch nie sind Schulbücher so schön, so scharf und so korrekt gedruckt worden. Das Papier ist vorzüglich, der Einband sehr elegant und dauerhaft. Dabei sind Karten und Skizzen jenen Bändchen beigegeben, wo dies als zweckdienlich erschien.

Die „Gallia“ Leipzig 1883 Heft 6
urteilt darüber:

Auf dem Gebiete der kommentierten Schulausgaben ist, wie wir schon öfter hervorzuheben Gelegenheit hatten, eine solche Ziel- und Maflosigkeit eingerissen, daß dadurch der Ruf unserer Wissenschaft bedroht ist. Besonders ist es das planlose Übersetzen von Vokabeln, die der Schüler in jedem Wörterbuche finden kann, das Auskramen etymologischer und synonymischer Weisheit, das Ausschreiben der Schulgrammatik am Fusse der Seiten, die für Schüler zwecklose Anhäufung von Parallelstellen, das flüchtige Übergehen von wirklichen Schwierigkeiten, das herbe Kritik hervorrief. Den Kommentar auf das richtige Maß zurückgeführt zu haben ist das Verdienst der von Dickmann herausgegebenen französischen und englischen Schulbibliothek, von der bis jetzt acht Bändchen zur Ausgabe gelangt sind. Nur diejenigen Wörter werden übersetzt, bei deren Erklärung das Wörterbuch den Schüler im Stich läßt; grammatische Erörterungen finden sich nur da, wo der vorliegende Fall in den gebräuchlichsten Schulgrammatiken nicht besprochen worden ist; die Noten beschränken sich allein auf sachliche Erklärungen, die in präziser, jede Abschweifung vermeidender Form abgefaßt sind. Die Redaktion (Otto E. A. Dickmann in Berlin) wacht sorgfältig darüber, daß von keinem der Mitarbeiter das auf Grund von Direktorenversammlungen aufgestellte Programm überschritten wird, sorgt auch dafür, daß nur solche Schriften bearbeitet werden, die sich bequem in einem Semester absolvieren lassen, was den allzustarken Ausgaben der Weidmannschen Buchhandlung gegenüber rühmend hervorgehoben werden mag. — Das vorliegende erste Bändchen der Schulbibliothek entspricht durchaus den Anforderungen, die wir an eine kommentierte Schulausgabe stellen; der Stoff ist für die Schule trefflich geeignet; mit Geschick sind die beiden hauptsächlichsten Ereignisse des ersten Kreuzzuges aus dem großen Geschichtswerke ausgewählt; Einleitungen, drei Karten und sachliche Anmerkungen (die wir lieber unter dem Text gesehen haben würden) dienen zur Erklärung; der Druck und die Ausstattung sind vorzüglich und der Preis des gebundenen Exemplares verhältnismäßig gering. Möge das Unternehmen prosperieren!

Die „Zeitschrift für das Realschulwesen“, Wien, Jahrg. IX, Heft 3:

Auf Grund der uns vorliegenden Proben müssen wir die „französische und englische Schulbibliothek“ den Lehrern der neueren Sprachen an unsern Schulen angelegentlich empfehlen.

In gleich günstigem Sinne sprechen sich aus:

Gymnasium, Jahrg. 1, No. 18.

Blätter für das Bayer. Gymnasialwesen,
XX. Jahrg. S. 63 uff.

Zeitschrift für weibliche Bildung, XII, S. 101 uff.

Fo.

FRANZÖSISCHE UND ENGLISCHE
SCHULBIBLIOTHEK.

HERAUSGEGEBEN
VON
OTTO E. A. DICKMANN.

BAND VIII.

~~~~~  
ENGLISCH.  
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LEIPZIG

1884

WIEN

RENGERSCHE BUCHHANDLUNG
GEBHARDT & WILISCH.

GEORG SZELINSKI
K. K. UNIV.-BUCHH.

AUSGEWÄHLTE REDEN

ENGLISCHER STAATSMÄNNER.

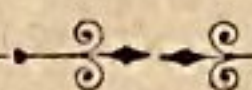
FÜR DEN SCHULGEBRAUCH ERKLÄRT

VON

J. C. A. WINKELMANN.

HEFT I.

W. PITT der Ältere, Rede über die Stempelakte.
Rede über den Krieg mit Amerika.
W. PITT der Jüngere, Rede über den Sklavenhandel.



LEIPZIG

1884

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GEORG SZELINSKI

K. K. UNIV.-BUCHH.

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Druck von Hugo Wilisch in Chemnitz.

Vorwort.

Indem ich hiermit den geehrten Kollegen das erste Heft ausgewählter Reden englischer Staatsmänner übergebe, mache ich darauf aufmerksam, daß es die Absicht ist, in weiteren Heften die vorzüglichsten Leistungen der hervorragendsten englischen Redner von den Zeiten des älteren Pitt an bis zur Gegenwart folgen zu lassen und damit eine Lücke in der neusprachlichen Lektüre unserer höheren Schulen auszufüllen, welche vielseitig, aber vielleicht doch nicht tief genug empfunden wird. Wie das Gymnasium seit Jahrhunderten in den griechischen und lateinischen Rednern eine vorzügliche Ergänzung der historischen Lektüre gesehen hat, so darf auch die Realschule, ohne eigne Schädigung, die ausgezeichnete und reiche rhetorische Litteratur der Engländer nicht länger vernachlässigen.

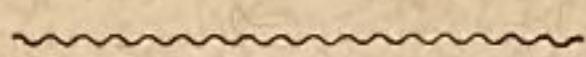
LINGEN, im September 1883.

Prof. Dr. Winkelmann,

Oberlehrer am Königl. Gymnasium Georgianum zu Lingen.



William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.



Wilhelm Pitt, geboren am 15. November 1708, war der zweite Sohn eines wohlhabenden Gutsbesitzers und Parlamentsmitgliedes, Robert Pitt. Er besuchte die Schule zu Eton und bezog im achtzehnten Lebensjahre die Universität Oxford, wo er sich vorwiegend mit dem Studium der Geschichte und der alten Sprachen beschäftigte. Ein Gichtleiden veranlaßte ihn, die Studien aufzugeben und auf einer Reise durch Frankreich und Italien Genesung zu suchen. Bald nach seiner Rückkehr trat er als Cornet (Fähnrich) bei einem Kavallerieregimente ein und wurde im Jahre 1735 für den als *rotten borough** berücktigten Ort *Old Sarum* ins Unterhaus geschickt. Er schloß sich der Opposition gegen das Ministerium Walpole an, hielt im nächsten Jahre bei Gelegenheit der Verheiratung des Prinzen Friedrich von Wales mit einer Prinzessin von Gotha seine erste Rede im Parlament, in welcher er auffälliger Weise den kindlichen Gehorsam des Prinzen gegen seinen Vater, König Georg II, rühmte, eines Prinzen, der nicht nur die Opposition gegen den König und das Ministerium unterstützte, sondern auch in Familienangelegenheiten seinem Vater mancherlei Verdrufs bereitete. Walpole entliefs ihn dafür aus dem Heere; der Prinz von Wales

* *rotten borough*, vgl. Anmerkung zu S. 14, 1.

aber ernannte ihn zum Kammerherrn und Pitt, dessen Beredsamkeit bald Bewunderung und Achtung einflößte, fuhr fort, bei jeder Gelegenheit gegen die Regierung zu eifern. Als sich ihm aber nach Walpoles Sturz Aussicht auf Eintritt in die Regierung eröffnete, entsagte er seiner Kammerherrnstelle sowie seiner Verbindung mit dem Prinzen von Wales und liefs sich erst zum Viceschatzmeister von Irland, dann zum Generalzahlmeister des Heeres ernennen. In stets bewährter Uneigennützigkeit und Rechtschaffenheit wies er alle, auch die für erlaubt geltenden Nebeneinnahmen, die das letztere Amt zu einem sehr einträglichen gemacht hatten, standhaft zurück und erwarb sich durch diese Handlungsweise, die offenbar bewies, daß Pitt, wenn er Amt und Würde zu erreichen suchte, nicht auf eignen Vorteil, sondern auf das Wohl des Vaterlandes bedacht war, im Lande und besonders unter der wohlhabenden Mittelklasse ein unbegrenztes und dauerndes Vertrauen, welches ihm während seines Staatssecretariats in den Jahren 1756 bis 1761 außerordentlich zu statten kam. Zu derselben Zeit, als in Deutschland der siebenjährige Krieg auszubrechen drohte, gerieten England und Frankreich in ihren aufsereuropäischen Besitzungen in Streit. Mit düsterem, fast verzweiflungsvollem Blick sah das englische Volk der Zukunft entgegen; sobald aber Pitt als Staatssecretär die Leitung der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten und des Kriegs übernommen hatte, erfüllte Siegesgewißheit alle Herzen. Pitt rechtfertigte das in ihn gesetzte Vertrauen und wenn auch keineswegs alle Unternehmungen und alle Heldenthaten dieser Ruhmesperiode Englands ihm zuzuschreiben sind, so sah doch das dankbare Vaterland in ihm den "Löwen, welchen England nach langen Wehen geboren hätte", und erkannte in ihm mit richtigem Blick die erste Ursache der großen Erfolge des Vaterlandes. Und in der That wollte der Jubel kein Ende nehmen. Von überall her kamen Nachrichten von gewonnenen Schlachten, von eroberten Festungen, Ländern und Inseln. Hawke griff gegen den entschiedenen Rat seines Lotsen in dunkler, stürmischer Nacht eine unter dem Schutze der Küste liegende

französische Flotte an und vernichtete sie; Wolfe erschien wie ein Meteor auf der Ebene St. Abraham vor Quebeck, schlug den Feind, und ganz Canada wurde eine englische Provinz; Clive gründete in Ostindien ein englisches Reich, viel gröfser und volkreicher als Großbritannien selbst. Auch die grofsen Bundesgenossen in Deutschland dienten dem Ansehen Pitts. Er, der sonst gegen alle Subsidienveträge mit auswärtigen Staaten gestritten, hatte selbst den Antrag auf Unterstützung Preussens im Parlamente eingebracht, und England begrüfste jeden Sieg des grofsen Königs wie einen eigenen Sieg; er hatte auf Friedrichs Vorschlag den Herzog Ferdinand von Braunschweig an Stelle des geschlagenen Königssohnes an die Spitze des englisch-hannoverschen Heeres treten lassen, und König und Volk wufsten ihm Dank für die Rettung des Kurfürstentums.

Diese Zeit der ersten Hälfte des siebenjährigen Krieges ist wie eine der ruhmvollsten in der Geschichte Englands, so die glanzvollste in dem Leben Pitts. Mit dem Tode des Königs Georg II. (1760) endete sie, und die Dinge nahmen eine ganz andere Gestalt an. Der neue König Georg III., der unter dem Einflusse seines Kammerherrn, des Grafen Bute, stand, neigte sein Ohr friedlichen Ratschlägen, während Pitt, überzeugt, dafs der zwischen Frankreich und Spanien geschlossene Familienvertrag gegen England gerichtet war, das Kriegstheater erweitern und auch dem England schon lange grollenden spanischen Könige Karl III den Krieg erklären wollte. Er drang mit seiner Ansicht nicht durch und trat aus dem Ministerium aus. Der König entliefs ihn mit den gröfsten Beweisen des Wohlwollens, und Pitt suchte sich in den folgenden Jahren durch seine politische Haltung die königliche Gunst zu bewahren, indem er, auch wenn seine Ansichten von denen der Regierung abwichen, doch stets mit grofser Vorsicht und Mäfsigung verfuhr. Trotzdem er scharf gegen den Frieden sprach, welcher dem siebenjährigen Kriege ein Ende machen sollte, und die vom Ministerium vorgeschlagene, dem Könige aber keineswegs angenehme Aufhebung der Stempelakte in

der weiter unten abgedruckten Rede vom 14. Januar 1766 unterstützte, verlor er doch das Vertrauen des Königs nicht, sondern wurde vielmehr einige Monate später zur Bildung eines neuen Ministeriums aufgefordert.

Pitt nahm den Auftrag an. Sich selbst bedingte er mit der Würde des ersten oder leitenden Ministers das Amt des Lord Privy Seal aus, der das große Reichsiegel, doch kein besonderes Verwaltungsdepartement führt, und besetzte im Vertrauen auf seine allbesiegende Gewalt die übrigen Posten mit Männern aus verschiedenen Parteien. Der König erhob ihn unter Verleihung des Titels Graf von Chatham in den erblichen Adel des Landes.

Leider sollte das neue Ministerium die Hoffnungen, welche König und Volk mit Recht auf dasselbe setzten, nicht erfüllen. Die Voraussetzung, daß sein genialer Schöpfer das Widerstrebende zwingen, das Uneinige zusammenbringen, das Feindliche unterdrücken und alles seinem eigenen Sinn und Willen zu unterwerfen vermögen würde, erfüllte sich nicht, weil Pitt plötzlich an Leib und Seele erkrankte. Die Gicht, die ihn von Jugend auf geplagt, schien gehoben. Dafür bemächtigte sich nun seiner eine unglaubliche Reizbarkeit, die einerseits in völlige Unfähigkeit geordneten Denkens, andererseits in Rücksichtslosigkeit und selbst Grobheit gegen alle, die mit ihm zu verkehren hatten, ausartete. Als er nun unter solchen Umständen sich zurückzog und vor aller Welt verschloß, fielen im Ministerium Dinge vor, die den Grafen von Chatham, wenn er sie mit klarem Bewußtsein erlebt hätte, empört haben würden. Unter anderem wagte es der von ihm ernannte Kanzler der Schatzkammer (Chancellor of the Exchequer) Karl Townshend, die Frage nach der Befugnis der englischen Regierung, die amerikanischen Kolonien zu besteuern, die Pitt aufs entschiedenste verneint hatte, nicht nur theoretisch zu bejahen, sondern praktisch als längst gelöst zu behandeln und durch neue Besteuerung der Kolonien jenen unseligen Zwiespalt heraufzubeschwören, der das Vaterland zuletzt um seinen wertvollsten auswärtigen Besitz brachte.

Unter diesen Umständen löste sich Pitts zweites Ministerium nach Verlauf von etwa zwei und einem Vierteljahre auf. Als nicht lange nachher mit dem Wiederauftreten seiner gichtischen Beschwerden die alte Klarheit und Kraft des Verstandes zurückkehrte, that er, nunmehr Privatmann, als Graf aber Mitglied des Oberhauses, sein möglichstes, um verderbliche Mafsregeln abzuwenden, wie z. B. das von Townshend, wie wir erwähnten, inaugurierte und nun zum Kriege führende Verfahren gegen die Kolonien in Nordamerika. Nachdem er fast als Sterbender gegen diese Mafsregeln noch einmal gesprochen, verschied er am 11. Mai 1778 und wurde in der Ehrenhalle der großen Männer des englischen Volks, der Westminsterabtei, begraben.

Historische Einleitung

zu der Rede über die Stempelakte vom 14. Januar 1766.

Die im Verlaufe des 17. und im Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts in dem Gebiete der jetzigen Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas von England gegründeten und eroberten Kolonien, welche den zwischen dem atlantischen Ocean und den Alleghanies gelegenen Küstenstrich umfaßten, waren um die Zeit des siebenjährigen Kriegs zu einem ansehnlichen und wertvollen Besitztum herangewachsen. Ihre Bevölkerung wurde damals auf zwei bis drei Millionen Seelen geschätzt, die durch Bebauung des fruchtbaren Bodens, durch Fischerei und Handel leichte und reichliche Nahrung fand, ihre Mufse in Schulen und Kirchen der Pflege des Geistes widmen konnte und darin ihre europäischen Stammesgenossen vielfach übertraf. England hatte diesen Kolonien von Anfang an große Selbständigkeit gelassen. Hie und da hatte es wohl seine Oberherrlichkeit geltend gemacht, im allgemeinen aber war es der Überzeugung gefolgt, daß die Ausgewanderten ihre Angelegenheiten am besten selbst zu leiten vermöchten. Namentlich hatte das Mutterland nie unmittelbare Abgaben und Steuern

von den Kolonien verlangt. Der einzige Gewinn vielmehr, den es suchte und in reichem Maße fand, war der, welcher sich aus dem Handel mit den Kolonien ziehen liefs. Den Handel behielt es sich daher vor und schlofs davon dem damaligen Merkantil- und Kolonial-System gemäß alle anderen Völker aus. Auch verhinderte es in demselben Sinne die Entwicklung aller Industrie. In den Kolonien war man damit nicht unzufrieden. Man sah als etwas Selbstverständliches an, was überall geschah und die Ansicht der Zeit mit sich brachte. Auch ehrte man gern den König von England als allgemeinen Landesherrn und lebte nach englischen Gesetzen. Republikanische Gedanken waren zwar einigen Kolonien nichts Neues, doch tauchten sie nur vereinzelt und ohne Macht zu gewinnen auf.

Dieses glückliche Verhältniß sollte leider nicht von Dauer sein.

Unter allen Vorwürfen, die dem älteren wie später dem jüngeren Pitt gemacht wurden, schien keiner berechtigter zu sein, als der, daß ihre Kriegführung das Land in höchst schwer zu tragende Schulden stürzte. In der That erregte die Verzinsung der Staatsanleihen manchem ernststen Manne nicht geringe Bedenken, und so geschah es, daß das Ministerium Grenville, welches bald nach dem Friedensschluß von 1763 ans Ruder des Staats gelangte, auf den Gedanken geriet, die amerikanischen Kolonien zu besteuern, von ihnen einen unmittelbaren Beitrag zur Verzinsung und Abtragung der Schulden zu verlangen, zumal der letzte Krieg ja grolsenteils ihretwegen geführt worden war. Der Gedanke fand allgemeinen Beifall, niemand zweifelte an der Berechtigung der Regierung zu einem solchen Schritt, niemand ahnte die unheilvollen Folgen, welche er nach sich ziehen sollte, und Grenvilles Antrag, in Amerika eine Stempelsteuer zu erheben, wurde gegen eine völlig verschwindende Minderheit angenommen. Einige Freunde Pitts sprachen sich allerdings gegen die Zweckmäßigkeit der Maßregel aus, fanden aber kein Gehör. Pitt selbst war krank, „er lag“, wie Burke sagt, „zu Hayes, seinem Landgute, auf seinem Rücken.“

So einmütig England aber das Stempelgesetz gab,

ebenso einmütig erhoben sich die amerikanischen Kolonien gegen dasselbe. Die verlangte Abgabe an sich war zwar unbedeutend und kaum der Rede wert, das Prinzip aber war es, dem die Kolonisten Anerkennung versagten und dem sie widersprechen zu müssen meinten. England habe nicht das Recht, behaupteten sie, ihnen Steuern aufzuerlegen, denn die englische Freiheit, auf welche sie gleichen Anspruch mit den Bewohnern des Mutterlandes hätten, schliesse den Satz in sich, daß kein Engländer Abgaben zu zahlen verpflichtet sei, die er nicht selbst bewilligt habe; da sie nun im englischen Parlamente nicht vertreten seien, so könne England keine Steuern von ihnen fordern. Nach diesem Grundsatz also verweigerten sie dem Stempelgesetze Gehorsam, schüchterten die ernannten Stempelbeamten ein, so daß diese ihr Amt niederlegten, und drohten sogar, sich alles Handelsverkehrs mit dem Mutterlande zu enthalten.

Den Engländern kam dieser Widerstand sehr unerwartet; da er sich aber in sehr entschiedener, heftiger und selbst drohender Weise aussprach, mußte er zu eingehender Erwägung und Erörterung der Sache führen, wobei nun drei Hauptansichten zu Tage traten. Die erste, deren Vertreter der Minister Grenville war, erklärte den Widerstand der Amerikaner für Aufruhr und Empörung und forderte Erzwingung des Gehorsams durch Anwendung von Gewalt; die andere, welche von der Partei des Markgrafen (Marquis) von Rockingham verteidigt wurde, riet, die Rechtsfrage auf sich beruhen zu lassen, die Stempelacte aber als unzweckmässig aufzuheben; die dritte Ansicht endlich, welche Pitt aufstellte, suchte einen Unterschied zwischen dem Rechte der Gesetzgebung und dem Rechte der Besteuerung zu finden, sprach in Bezug auf Amerika jenes der englischen Regierung zu, dieses ab und verlangte demgemäß gleichfalls Aufhebung des Gesetzes. Diese Anschauung ist es, welche Pitt am 14. Januar 1766 bei Gelegenheit der Debatte über die auf die Thronrede zu erteilende Antwort (address) in der besagten Rede darlegte. Die Zurücknahme des Stempelgesetzes erfolgte zwei Monate später.

SPEECH ON THE STAMP ACT.

I came to town but to-day, I was a stranger to the tenor of his Majesty's speech and the proposed address, till I heard them read in this house. Unconnected and unconsulted, I have not the means of
 5 information; I am fearful of offending through mistake, and therefore beg to be indulged with a second reading of the proposed address.

Nachdem die Adresse durch den Secretär des Hauses noch einmal vorgelesen ist, fährt der Redner fort.

I approve of the address in answer to His Majesty's speech, as it decides nothing, every gentleman
 10 being left at perfect liberty, to take such a part concerning America as he may afterwards see fit. One word only I cannot approve of: an „early“ is a word that does not belong to the notice the ministry have given to Parliament of the troubles in Ame-
 15 rica. In a matter of such importance the communication ought to have been immediate. I speak not with respect to parties; I stand up in this place single and unconnected. As to the late ministry, every capital measure they have taken has been entirely
 20 wrong.

As to the present gentlemen, to those at least whom I have in my eye, I have no objection; I have never been made a sacrifice by any of them. Their characters are fair, and I am always glad when men
 25 of fair characters engage in his Majesty's service.

Some of them have done me the honour to ask my opinion before they would engage. These will do me the justice to own I advised them to engage, but notwithstanding — I love to be explicit — I cannot
 30 give them my confidence. Pardon me, Gentlemen, confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom,

11. *see*, vielleicht ein Schreibfehler für *think*. — 23. *I have never been made a sacrifice*, sie haben mich nicht aus dem Ministerium vertrieben, noch sind sie sonst treulos gegen mich gewesen. — 27. *engage* d. i. ins Ministerium eintreten. — 30. *I cannot give them my confidence*: hier macht P. den Ministern eine Verbeugung.

youth is the season of credulity; by comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an overruling influence.

There is a clause in the Act of Settlement to oblige every minister to sign his name to the advice which he gives his sovereign. Would it were observed! I have had the honour to serve the crown, and if I could have submitted to influence I might have still continued to serve; but I would not be responsible for others. I have no local attachments. It is indifferent to me whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this side or that side of the Tweed. I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it, and I found it in the mountains of the North. I called it forth and drew it into your service, a hardy and intrepid race of men, men, who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies and had gone nigh to have overturned the state in the war before the last. These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world. Detested be the national reflections against them! They are unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly. When I ceased to serve his Majesty as a minister, it was not the country of the man by which I was moved — but the man of that country wanted wisdom and held principles incompatible with freedom.

It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in Parliament. When the resolution was taken

8. *Would it were observed!* Dann würden geheime Einflüsse auf den König unmöglich sein. Die angeführte Bestimmung nämlich verbietet nach Pitt *jede* geheime Einwirkung auf den König. — 10. *I would not be responsible:* ich trat aus dem Ministerium aus, als Bute und der König Spanien nicht den Krieg erklären wollten. — 11. *local attachments:* es ist mir gleichgültig, ob jemand (namentlich Bute) Schotte oder Engländer ist. — 25. *national reflections* sind die aus nationaler Eitelkeit entspringenden Bespöttelungen der Schotten von Seiten der Engländer.

in the House to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to
5 have laid me down on this floor to have borne my testimony against it. I would speak with decency of every act of this House, but I must beg the indulgence of the House to speak of it with freedom.

I hope a day may be soon appointed to consider
10 the state of the nation with respect to America. I hope gentlemen will come to this debate with all the temper and impartiality that his Majesty recommends and the importance of the subject requires, a subject of greater importance than ever engaged the attention
15 of this House, that subject only excepted, when, near a century ago, it was the question whether you yourselves were to be bound or free. In the mean time, as I cannot depend upon health for any future day, such is the nature of my infirmities, I will beg to say
20 a few words at present. Leaving the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the act to another time, I will only speak to one point, a point which seems not to have been generally understood — I mean to the right. Some gentlemen seem to have
25 considered it as a point of honour. If gentlemen consider it in that light, they leave all measures of right and wrong to follow a delusion that may lead to destruction. It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same
30 time I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of man-
35 kind and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen: equally bound by its laws, and equally participating in the constitution of this free country! The Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The
40 taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the realm

are alike concerned, but the concurrence of the Peers and the crown to a tax is only necessary to close with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the Commons alone. In ancient days, the crown, the barons, and the clergy possessed the lands. In 5 those days, the barons and the clergy gave and granted to the crown. They gave and granted what was their own. At present since the discovery of America, and other circumstances permitting, the Commons are become the proprietors of the land. The 10 church (God bless it!) has but a pittance. The property of the Lords, compared with that of the Commons, is as a drop of water in the ocean. And this House represents those Commons, the proprietors of the lands, and those proprietors virtually represent 15 the rest of the inhabitants. When, therefore, in this House we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your Majesty's Commons for Great Britain, give and grant to your Majesty? — what? Our own pro- 20 perty? — No! We give and grant to your Majesty the property of your Majesty's Commons of America. — It is an absurdity in terms.

The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty. The crown, the 25 Peers, are equally legislative powers with the Commons. If taxation be a part of simple legislation, the crown, the Peers, have rights in taxation as well as yourselves; rights which they claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by 30 power.

There is an idea in some that the colonies are virtually represented in this House. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here. Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county 35 in this kingdom? Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number! Or will you tell him that he is represented by any re-

3. *gift and grant* sind die technischen Ausdrücke für die vom Parlamente bewilligten Gelder. — 23. *absurdity in terms*, der in den Ausdrücken selbst liegende Widerspruch.

presentative of a borough? — a borough which perhaps no man ever saw. — This is what is called the rotten part of the constitution. It cannot continue a century; if it does not drop, it must be amputated. —

5 The idea of a virtual representation of America in this House is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of man — it does not deserve a serious refutation.

The Commons of America, represented in their
10 several Assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this their constitutional right of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time this kingdom, as the supreme governing and legislative
15 power, has always bound the colonies by her laws, by her regulations and restrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures, in everything except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent. Here I would draw the line

20 Quam ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.

Historische Einleitung

zu der Rede über den Krieg mit Amerika vom 18. November 1777.

Die Rede, in welcher Pitt die Aufhebung des Stempelgesetzes befürwortete, war die letzte, welche er im Unterhause hielt. Mit seiner Berufung ins Ministerium und seiner Erhebung zur Pairswürde verlegte er seine parlamentarische Wirksamkeit ins Oberhaus, wo er die Rede über den Krieg mit Amerika hielt.

Die Veranlassung zu diesem Kriege war merkwürdiger Weise unter seinem Ministerium gegeben, aber zu der Zeit, als Krankheit auch seine geistige Thätigkeit hemmte, und in Folge davon die von ihm ernannten Minister nach eigenem Ermessen zu handeln genötigt waren. Damals also wufste der Kanzler der Schatzkammer, Karl Townshend, die Zustimmung des

Parlaments zu einer neuen Besteuerung der amerikanischen Kolonien zu gewinnen, indem er hervorhob, daß der Zoll, welchen er auf die Einfuhr mehrerer Handelsartikel, namentlich des Thees, legte, nicht eine direkte Steuer, *direct tax*, wie die Stempelsteuer, sondern eine Handelsabgabe, *commercial tax*, sei, und die Amerikaner selbst in dem letzten Streite wiederholt das Recht Englands, den Handel zu regulieren, anerkannt hätten.

Diese Thatsache nun, daß das Recht der Gesetzgebung überhaupt und insbesondere auch in Betreff des Handels der englischen Regierung zustehe, liefs sich allerdings nicht bestreiten und wurde auch von niemand bestritten; indess glaubten die amerikanischen Kolonisten, der neue Zoll habe nicht den Zweck, den Gang des Handels zu ordnen, sondern vielmehr den, aus einer ihnen auferlegten Abgabe Geld in die englische Staatskasse zu schaffen und sei daher im Grunde nichts Anderes, als eine direkte Besteuerung. So verweigerten sie auch diesem Gesetze Gehorsam.

Nun begann ein Streit, der sich durch acht Jahre hinzog und zuletzt durch einen ebenso langen Krieg entschieden wurde. Die Amerikaner, die Provinz Massachusetts mit der Hauptstadt Boston voran, beschlossen, wie früher, den Bezug aller englischen Waren einzustellen und sogar alle Ausfuhr nach England zu verbieten; sie wählten auf eigne Hand Volksvertreter an Stelle der von den Regierungsbehörden aufgelösten parlamentarischen Versammlungen; die Kolonien traten mit einander in Verbindung; das Volk griff hie und da die Zollbeamten und selbst das Militär an; die Bostoner warfen eine ganze Schiffsladung Thee ins Wasser, und überall sah man sich nach Waffen um und rüstete man auf den äußersten Fall. Die englische Regierung ihrerseits liefs sich durch den Widerstand von einer Gegenmafsregel zur andern fortreißen. Zuerst erklärte sie den Bostoner Hafen für geschlossen, dann hob sie die Verfassung von Massachusetts auf, dann verbot sie den Kolonien die Fischerei bei Neufundland, endlich schickte sie Soldaten ins Land. Der Krieg begann, die Kolonien erklärten sich für unab-

hängig (1776, 4. Juli) und zwangen, von Frankreich unterstützt, das Mutterland zur Anerkennung ihrer Selbständigkeit (1783).

Während dieses langdauernden Zwistes bekämpfte eine einflußreiche Minderheit des Parlaments unaufhörlich die Anschauungen und Anordnungen der Regierung des Lord North, welcher von 1770 bis 1782 First Lord of the Treasury war. Zu diesen Gegnern des Kriegs gehörte vornehmlich die Partei des Markgrafen Rockingham, in welcher Burke und Ch. J. Fox nebst Sheridan die hervorragendsten Redner waren; zu ihr gehörte auch der noch immer gefürchtete Graf von Chatham. Dieser eiferte bei mehreren Gelegenheiten gegen ein Verfahren, das er für ungerechtfertigt hielt. Am 18. November 1777 stellte er den wiederholten Antrag auf Einstellung der Feindseligkeiten und hielt an diesem Tage zur Begründung seines Antrags die folgende Rede. Bekannt ist, daß er noch kurz vor seinem Tode sich ins Oberhaus führen und tragen ließ, um seiner Meinung Geltung zu verschaffen.

SPEECH ON THE WAR WITH AMERICA.

I rise, my Lords, to declare my sentiments on this most solemn and serious subject. It has imposed a load upon my mind, which, I fear, nothing can remove, but which impels me to endeavour its
 25 alleviation by a free and unreserved communication of my sentiments.

In the first part of the address, I have the honour of heartily concurring with the noble earl who moved it. No man feels sincerer joy than I do, none can
 30 offer more genuine congratulation on every accession of strength to the protestant succession. I, therefore, join in every congratulation on the birth of another princess, and the happy recovery of her Majesty. But I must stop here — my courtly complaisance will
 35 carry me no farther, I will not join in congratulation

on misfortune and disgrace. I cannot concur in a blind and servile address, which approves and endeavours to sanctify the monstrous measures that have heaped disgrace and misfortune upon us, that have brought ruin to our doors. This, my Lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment! It is not a time for adulation, the smoothness of flattery cannot now avail, cannot save us in this awful and rugged crisis: it is now necessary to instruct the throne in the language of truth. We must dispel the delusion and the darkness which envelop it, and display, in its full danger and true colours, the ruin that is brought to our doors. 5 10

This, my Lords, is our duty, it is the proper function of this noble assembly, sitting as we do upon our honours in this house, the hereditary council of the crown. And who is the minister, where is the minister that has dared to suggest to the throne the contrary, unconstitutional language, this day delivered from it? The accustomed language from the throne has been application to parliament for advice, and reliance on its constitutional advice and assistance — as it is the right of parliament to give, so it is the duty of the crown to ask it —; but on this day, and in this extreme momentous exigency, no reliance is reposed on our constitutional councils, no advice is asked from the sober and enlightened care of parliament; but the crown from itself, and by itself, declares an unalterable determination to pursue measures — and what measures, my Lords — the measures that have produced the imminent perils that threaten us, the measures that have brought ruin to our doors. 15 20 25 30

Can the minister of the day now presume to expect a continuance of support in this ruinous infatuation? Can parliament be so dead to its dignity and its duty as to be thus deluded into the loss of the one and the violation of the other? To give an unlimited credit and support for the steady perse- 35

15. *upon our honours:* auf Grund der uns beigelegten erblichen Pairswürde.

verance in measures — that is the word and the conduct, not proposed for our parliamentary advice, but dictated and forced upon us — in measures, I say, my Lords, which have reduced this late flourishing
5 empire to ruin and contempt! “But yesterday, and England might have stood against the world; now none so poor to do her reverence.” I use the words of a poet; but though it be poetry, it is not fiction. It is a shameful truth that not alone the power and
10 strength of this country are wasting away and expiring, but her well-earned glories, her true honour, and substantial dignity, are sacrificed. France, my Lords, has insulted you, she has encouraged and sustained America, and whether America be wrong or right, the
15 dignity of this country ought to spurn at the officious insult of French interference. The ministers and ambassadors of those who are called enemies, are in Paris; in Paris they transact the reciprocal interests of America and France. Can there be a more mortifying
20 insult? Can even our ministers sustain a more humiliating disgrace? Do they dare to resent it? Do they presume even to hint a vindication of their honour, and the dignity of the state, by requiring the dismissal of the plenipotentiaries of America? Such
25 is the degradation to which they have reduced the glories of England! The people whom they affected to call contemptible rebels, but whose growing power has at last obtained the name of enemies; the people with whom they have engaged this country in war, and
30 against whom they now command our implicit support in every measure of desperate hostility; this people, despised as rebels, or acknowledged as enemies, are abetted against you, supplied with every military store, their interests consulted, and their ambassadors entertained,
35 by your inveterate enemy, and our ministers dare not interpose with dignity or effect! Is this the honour of a great kingdom? Is this the indignant

8. *it is not fiction.* Während meines ersten Ministeriums, will Chatham etwa sagen, konnte England es *wirklich* mit der ganzen Welt aufnehmen.

spirit of England, who, "but yesterday" gave law to the House of Bourbon? My Lords, the dignity of nations demands a decisive conduct in a situation like this. Even when the greatest prince that perhaps this country ever saw, filled our throne, the requisition of a Spanish general, on a similar subject, was attended to and complied with; for, on the spirited remonstrance of the duke of Alva, Elizabeth found herself obliged to deny the Flemish exiles all countenance, support or even entrance into her dominions; and the Count Le Marque, with his few desperate followers, was expelled the kingdom. 5 10

My Lords, this ruinous and ignominious situation where we cannot act with success, nor suffer with honour, calls upon us to remonstrate in the strongest and loudest language of truth to rescue the ear of Majesty from the delusions which surround it. The desperate state of our arms abroad is in part known. No man thinks more highly of them than I do: I love and honour the English troops; I know their virtues and their valour; I know they can achieve anything except impossibilities, and I know that the conquest of America is an impossibility. You cannot, I venture to say it, you cannot conquer America. Your armies last war effected every thing that could be effected; and what was it? It cost a numerous army, under the command of a most able general, now a noble Lord in this House, a long and laborious campaign, to expel 5000 Frenchmen from French America. My Lord, you cannot conquer America. What is your present situation there? We do not know the worst, but we know that in three campaigns we have done nothing, and suffered much. Besides the sufferings, perhaps total loss, of the northern force, the best appointed army that ever took the field, commanded by Sir William Howe, has retired from the American lines; he was obliged to relinquish his attempt, and, with great delay and danger, to adopt a new and distant plan of operations. We shall soon know, and in any event have reason to lament, what may have happened since. As to conquest, therefore, my Lords, I repeat, it is 25 30 35 40

impossible. You may swell every expence, and every effort still more extravagantly, pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow, traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince that
5 sells his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince: your efforts are for ever vain and impotent, doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely, for it irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your enemies. To overrun them with the mercenary sons
10 of rapine and plunder, devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms — never, never, never!

15 Your own army is infected with the contagion of these illiberal allies. The spirit of plunder and of rapine is gone forth among them. I know it, and not withstanding what the noble Earl who moved the address has given as his opinion of our American army,
20 I know from authentic information and the most experienced officers that our discipline is deeply wounded. Whilst this is notoriously our sinking situation, America grows and flourishes; whilst our strength and discipline is lowered, theirs rises and improves.

25 But, my Lords, who is the man that, in addition to these disgraces and mischiefs of our army, has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and the scalping-knife of the savage, to call into civilized alliance the wild and inhuman savage of the
30 woods; to delegate to the merciless Indians the defence of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of this barbarous war against our brethren? My Lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment. Unless thoroughly done away, it will be a stain on the
35 national character, it is a violation of the constitution, I believe it is against law. It is not the least of our national misfortunes, that the strength and character of our army are thus impaired. Infected with the mercenary spirit of robbery and rapine, familiarized to
40 the horrid scenes of savage cruelty, it can no longer boast of the noble and generous principles which dig-

nify a soldier; no longer sympathize with the dignity of the royal banner, nor feel the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war that „make ambition virtue“. What makes ambition virtue? The sense of honour. But is the sense of honour consistent with a spirit of plunder, or the practice of murder? Besides these murderers and plunderers, let me ask our ministers, what other allies have they acquired? What other powers have they associated to their cause? Have they entered into alliance with the king of the gypsies? Nothing, my Lords, is too low or too ludicrous to be consistent with their counsels. 5 10

The independent views of America have been stated and asserted as the foundation of this address. My Lords, no man wishes more for due dependence of America on this country than I do. To preserve it, and not to confirm that state of independence into which your measures hitherto have driven them, is the object we ought to unite in attaining. The Americans, contending for their rights against arbitrary exactions, I love and admire; but contending for independency and total disconnection from England, as an Englishman, I cannot wish them success; for, in a due constitutional dependency, including the ancient supremacy of this country in regulating their commerce and navigation, consists the mutual happiness and prosperity both of England and America. She derived assistance and protection from us, and we reaped from her the most important advantages: she was, indeed, the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength, the nursery and basis of our moral power. It is our duty, therefore, my Lords, if we wish to save our country, most seriously to endeavour the recovery of these most beneficial subjects. And in this perilous crisis, perhaps the present moment may be the only one in which we can hope for success. For in their negotiations with France, they have, or think, they 15 20 25 30 35

10. *king of the gypsies* ist natürlich ironisch gemeint. —
 31. *moral power* ist das Ansehen, in welchem die Macht Englands bei anderen Völkern stand.

have, reason to complain. Though it be notorious that they have received from that power important supplies and assistance of various kinds, yet it is certain they expected it in a more decisive and immediate degree.

5 America is in ill humour with France on some points that have not entirely answered her expectations. Let us wisely take advantage of every possible moment of reconciliation. Besides, the natural disposition of America herself still leans towards England; to the old

10 habits of connection and mutual interest that united both countries. This was the established sentiment of all the continent; and still, my Lords, in the great and principal part, the sound part of America, this wise and affectionate disposition prevails. And there

15 is a very considerable part of America yet sound, the middle and the southern provinces. Some parts may be factious and blind to their true interests; but if we express a wise and benevolent disposition to communicate with them those immutable rights of nature,

20 and those constitutional liberties to which they are equally entitled with ourselves by a conduct so just and humane, we shall confirm the favourable and conciliate the adverse. I say, my Lords, the rights and liberties to which they are equally entitled with our-

25 selves, but no more. I would participate to them every enjoyment and freedom which the colonizing subjects of a free state can possess, or wish to possess; and I do not see why they should not enjoy every fundamental right in their property, and every original

30 substantial liberty which Devonshire or Surrey, or the county I live in, or any other county in England, can claim, reserving always, as the sacred right of the mother country, the true constitutional dependency of the colonies. The inherent supremacy of the state in

35 regulating and protecting the navigation and commerce of all her subjects, is necessary for the mutual benefit and preservation of every part to constitute and preserve the prosperous arrangement of the whole empire. The sound parts of America, of which I have spoken,

40 must be sensible of these great truths, and of their real interests. America is not in that state of des-

perate and contemptible rebellion which this country has been deluded to believe. It is not a wild and lawless banditto, who, having nothing to lose, might hope to snatch something from public convulsions. Many of their leaders and great men have a great stake in this contest. The gentleman who conducts their armies, I am told, has an estate of 4 or 5000 £ a year. And when I consider these things, I cannot but lament the inconsiderate violence of our penal acts, our declarations of treason and rebellion, with all the fatal effects of attainder and confiscation. 5 10

As to the disposition of foreign powers, which is asserted in the Speech from the throne to be pacific and friendly, let us judge, my Lords, rather by their actions and the nature of things than by interested assertions. The uniform assistance, supplied to America by France, suggests a different conclusion; the most important interests of France in aggrandizing and enriching herself with what she most wants, supplies of every naval store from America, must inspire her with different sentiments. The extraordinary preparations of the House of Bourbon, by land and by sea, from Dunkirk to the Streights, equally ready and willing to overwhelm these defenceless islands, should rouse us to a sense of their real disposition and our own danger. Not 5000 troops in England! hardly 3000 in Ireland! What can we oppose to the combined force of our enemies? Scarcely 20 ships of the line, fully or sufficiently manned, that any admiral's reputation would permit him to take the command of. The river of Lisbon in the possession of our enemies! The seas swept by American privateers, our channel trade torn to pieces by them! In this complicated crisis of danger, weakness at home, and calamity abroad, terrified and insulted by the neighbouring powers, unable to act in America, or acting only to be destroyed: where is the man with the forehead to promise or hope for success in such a situation? Who has the forehead to do so? Where is that man? I should be glad to see his face. 15 20 25 30 35 40

You cannot conciliate America by your present

measures, you cannot subdue her by your present, or by any measures. What, then, can you do? You cannot conquer, you cannot gain, but you can address; you can lull the fears and anxieties of the moment
5 into an ignorance of the danger that should produce them. But, my Lords, the time demands the language of truth, we must not now apply the flattering unction of servile compliance, or blind complaisance. In a just and necessary war, to maintain the rights or honour
10 of my country, I would strip the shirt from my back to support it. But in such a war as this, unjust in its principle, impracticable in its means, and ruinous in its consequences, I would not contribute a single effort, nor a single shilling. I do not call for vengeance on
15 the heads of those who have been guilty, I only recommend to them to make their retreat. Let them walk off, and let them make haste, or they may be assured that speedy and condign punishment will overtake them.

20 My Lords, I have submitted to you, with the freedom and truth which I think my duty, my sentiments on the present awful situation. I have laid before you the ruin of your power, the disgrace of your reputation, the pollution of your discipline, the
25 contamination of your morals, the complication of calamities, foreign and domestic, that overwhelm your sinking country. Your dearest interests, your own liberties, the constitution itself, totters to the foundation. All this disgraceful danger, this multitude of
30 misery, is the monstrous offspring of this unnatural war. We have been deceived and deluded too long. Let us now stop short. This is the crisis, may be the only crisis, of time and situation to give us a possibility of escape from the fatal effects of our de-
35 lusions. But if, in an obstinate and infatuated perseverance in folly, we slavishly echo the peremptory words this day presented to us, nothing can save this devoted country from complete and final ruin. We madly rush into multiplied miseries and „confusion worse
40 confounded.“

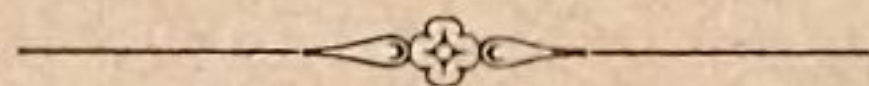
Is it possible, can it be believed, that ministers

are yet blind to this impending destruction? I did hope that instead of this false and empty vanity, this overweening pride, engendering high conceits and presumptuous imaginations — that ministers would have humbled themselves in their errors, would have confessed and retracted them, and by an active, though a late repentance, have endeavoured to redeem them. But, my Lords, since they had neither sagacity to foresee, nor justice nor humanity to shun, these oppressive calamities; since not even experience can make them feel, nor the imminent ruin of their country can awaken them from their stupefaction, the guardian care of parliament must interpose. I shall, therefore, my Lords, propose to you an amendment to the address to his Majesty, to be inserted immediately after the two first paragraphs of congratulation on the birth of a princess, to recommend an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries. | This, my Lords, is yet in our power, and let not the wisdom and justice of your lordships neglect the happy and perhaps the only opportunity. By the establishment of recoverable law, founded on mutual rights, and ascertained by treaty, these glorious enjoyments may be firmly perpetuated. And let me repeat to your lordships that the strong bias of America, at least of the wise and sounder parts of it, naturally inclines to this happy and constitutional re-connection with you. Notwithstanding the temporary intrigues with France, we may still be assured of their ancient and confirmed partiality to us. America and France cannot be congenial: there is something decisive and confirmed in the honest American that will not assimilate to the futility and levity of Frenchmen.

My Lords, to encourage and confirm that innate inclination to this country, founded on every principle of affection as well as consideration of interest; to restore that favourable disposition into a permanent and powerful reunion with this country; to revive the mutual strength of the empire; again to awe the House

of Bourbon instead of meanly truckling, as our present calamities compel us to every insult of French caprice and Spanish punctilio; to re-establish our commerce; to reassert our rights and our honour; to confirm our interests and renew our glories for ever — a consummation most devoutly to be endeavoured, and which, I trust, may yet arise from reconciliation with America — I have the honour of submitting to you the following amendment, which I move to be inserted after the two first paragraphs of the address.

9. *to move* ist ein technischer Ausdruck der Parlamentssprache. Der Antrag heisst *motion*. — Pitts Antrag wurde mit grosser Mehrheit verworfen.



William Pitt the younger, Son to the Earl of Chatham.

William Pitt der Jüngere wurde am 28. Mai 1759 geboren. Die Schwächlichkeit seines Körpers flöste den Eltern oft Besorgnisse um sein Leben ein; sein Geist entfaltete sich dagegen außerordentlich rasch und glücklich. Um ihm alle mögliche Pflege zuwenden zu können, schickten ihn die Eltern nicht, wie es Landessitte ist, auf eine auswärtige Schule, sondern ließen ihn zu Hause unterrichten, bis er, 15 Jahre alt und nunmehr auch körperlich ziemlich gekräftigt, reif für die Universität erklärt wurde und nach Cambridge ging. Hier trieb er mit großem und erfolgreichem Eifer diejenigen Studien, durch welche die Söhne des englischen Adels sich auf das öffentliche Leben vorzubereiten pflegen: die alten Sprachen, etwas Französisch und Mathematik. Ganz besonderen Fleiß wandte er bei der Lektüre der Alten auf die Beredsamkeit. Schon als Knabe von sieben Jahren hatte er einst die von erstaunlicher Frühreife zeugende Äußerung gethan, er freue sich, daß er nicht der älteste Sohn sei, denn er wolle dereinst im Unterhause sprechen, wie sein Papa. Und diese Richtung, zu der er so früh hinneigte, verfolgte er auf der Universität mit übertriebener Einseitigkeit. Zwar bemühte er sich auch sehr ernstlich um Erfassung des Sinnes und Geistes der griechischen und römischen Schriftsteller, unter welchen er selbst

die schwierigsten mit Leichtigkeit beherrschen lernte; noch wichtiger aber als der Inhalt, erschien ihm die Form und die Übung in der Muttersprache, welche das sorgfältige Übersetzen aus fremden Sprachen gewährt. Ganze Kapitel aus Thucydides und Demosthenes in einem Zuge laut redend in fließendem English wiederzugeben, war sein unablässiges Bestreben und seine höchste Lust.

So vorbereitet, ergriff der einundzwanzigjährige Jüngling die juristische Laufbahn (1780), wurde jedoch schon im Herbst desselben Jahres zum Palamentsmitgliede gewählt und betrat somit den Kampfplatz, auf welchem seine Lorbeeren erwachsen. Die größten Redner des Unterhauses, Burke und Fox, erkannten dem jungen Manne bei seinem ersten Auftreten die Palme der Beredsamkeit zu. Sein Ruhm stieg schnell, sein stolzes Selbstbewußtsein ebenso schnell. Das Vice-Schatzmeisteramt für Irland, das ihm bald nachher angeboten wurde, schlug er aus, obgleich dasselbe 5000 £ einbrachte und den vermögenslosen, gleichsam enterbten jüngeren Sohn wohl hätte reizen können; „denn“, sagte er ganz öffentlich, „ich werde nie ein untergeordnetes Amt annehmen, keines, womit nicht Sitz und Stimme im Ministerium verbunden ist.“ Wie wenn er notwendig Minister hätte werden müssen, wie wenn er alle übertroffen und seiner Bedeutung gerechte Anerkennung nicht hätte fehlen können! In der That ward er noch in demselben Jahre zum Finanzminister (Chancellor of the Exchequer) und ein Jahr später zum Premierminister (First Lord of the Treasury) und Finanzminister ernannt. (1783.)

Diese Stellung bekleidete Pitt ununterbrochen siebenzehn Jahre lang, länger, als irgend ein anderer vor ihm (Walpole war allerdings einige Jahre länger erster Schatzlord, aber nicht so lange erster leitender Minister gewesen) und nach ihm. Schon diese Tatsache, sowie die Erwägung, mit wie großen Schwierigkeiten das englische Ministerium bei der parlamentarischen Parteiregierung auch unter den günstigsten Umständen stets zu streiten hat, legt die Frage nahe, wie Pitt sich so lange an der Spitze des Staats be-

haupten konnte. War er denn, wofür er sich selbst zu halten schien, wirklich der bedeutendste Mann in seinem Vaterlande? Das war er nicht. Seine Bildung war, wie wir bereits gesehen haben, einseitig und sogar beschränkt; auch zeichnete er sich keineswegs durch tiefe Einsicht in die politischen Verhältnisse, durch besonders weise Gesetzgebung oder durch hervorragende Thatkraft in schwierigen Lagen aus. Aber es vereinigte sich vieles zu seinen Gunsten. Unzweifelhaft wirkte schon der väterliche Name zu seinem Vortheil, ebenso unzweifelhaft aber hatte die Natur ihn selbst auch mit manchen Eigenschaften ausgestattet, die den Herrscher halten und heben. Seine Sittenreinheit, seine vom Vater ererbte Uneigennützigkeit, seine Gleichgiltigkeit gegen Geld und Gut und äußere Ehre, seine treue Freundschaft, seine warme Vaterlandsliebe entbehrten der Anerkennung nicht. An Neidern und Gegnern fehlte es auch ihm nicht; doch machte keiner auch nur den Versuch, seinen Lebenswandel anzugreifen. Vor aller Augen lag die Thatsache, daß Pitt eine Sinecure von 3000 £ jährlichem Ertrage ablehnte, daß Pitt, der täglich über Orden und Ehrentitel für andere verfügte, für sich nichts dergleichen begehrte noch annahm, daß Pitt, der leicht zu dem Range und Reichtum und Ansehen der ersten Magnaten des Königreichs sich hätte erheben können, als einfacher bürgerlicher Mann, arm und selbst in Schulden lebte. Bei solchen Eigenschaften schadete ihm auch das oft allzu stark erscheinende Selbstbewußtsein, der Stolz seines Wesens, seiner Haltung und seiner Sprache nicht. Dennoch würde Pitt ohne die zur Meisterschaft ausgebildete Beredsamkeit und die Kunst, das Unterhaus zu lenken und zu leiten, sich schwerlich so lange im Amte behauptet haben. Hier aber war er unübertrefflich, und hier lag bei der parlamentarischen Verfassung Englands seine Kraft. Kaum wagte es jemand, ihm zu widersprechen, und wehe dem, der es wagte: der Minister wußte ihn zum Schweigen zu bringen. So wurde die in England fast unerhörte Erscheinung möglich, daß Pitts Ministerium jahrelang ohne alle nennenswerte Opposition blieb. Selbst als England sich zur Teilnahme an dem Kriege

gegen die französische Revolution gezwungen sah und der Leiter des Staats weder die Energie noch das Verständnis bewies, welches die Lage der Dinge erheischte; ja als selbst die Waffenehre des Landes in Gefahr geriet, hielten König und Volk treu zu dem Minister, zu dem ihr Vertrauen unerschütterlich geworden war.

Ein Umstand anderer Art sollte dem langen Ministerium ein Ziel setzen. Im Jahre 1798 erhob sich Irland, wie so oft und bis in die neueste Zeit, gegen die englische Herrschaft und wurde wie früher in blutigen Kämpfen niedergeworfen. Nunmehr aber suchte die englische Regierung, um künftigen Empörungen vorzubeugen, Irland fester mit England zu verbinden und führte mit dem 1. Januar 1801 die Union der beiden Länder ein. Pitt gedachte noch mehr zu thun. In der Überzeugung, daß eine der Hauptursachen der Feindseligkeit der Irländer gegen England in der harten, ungerechten Behandlung des Katholizismus liege, schlug er die Aufhebung der bürgerlichen Beschränkungen der irischen Laien, namentlich der Ausschließung derselben von öffentlichen Ämtern, sowie die Versorgung der irischen Geistlichkeit aus öffentlichen Mitteln vor. Diese auf Versöhnung der beiden Völker gerichtete Maßregel glaubte der König leider, da sie seinem Krönungseide zuwiderliefe, nicht gutheissen zu können, weshalb Pitt seine Entlassung erbat und erhielt.

Da indes sein Nachfolger zu wenig Ansehen besaß, berief der König bereits im Jahre 1804 den nach allgemeiner Meinung bewährten Pitt wieder an die Spitze des Ministeriums. Diesem gelang es nun zwar, den drohenden Einfall Napoleons in England durch die Verbindung Österreichs und Rußlands gegen Frankreich, die zum Teil sein Werk war, abzuwenden, nicht aber dem Kriege gegen Frankreich überhaupt eine günstigere Wendung zu geben. Gram darüber und Sorge um sein geliebtes Vaterland nagten an dem Mark seines Lebens, die Niederlage seiner Bundesgenossen bei Austerlitz versetzte ihm den Todesstoß. Er starb am 23. Januar 1806. Sein Grab ist nahe bei dem seines Vaters.

Historische Einleitung

zu der Rede über den Sklavenhandel vom 1. April 1792.

Der Sklavenhandel, von welchem der jüngere Pitt in dieser Rede spricht, ist der Handel mit Negern, welche seit der Entdeckung Amerikas aus Afrika nach Amerika gebracht wurden. Es beteiligten sich bei diesem Handel fast alle europäischen Völker, keins jedoch in ausgedehnterem Maße, als die Engländer, ganz besonders die beiden Städte Liverpool und Bristol.

Die unglücklichen Neger wurden von der Westküste Afrikas den einheimischen Fürsten und auch Privatleuten abgekauft, meist um einen sehr billigen Preis, der in Waren erlegt zu werden pflegte, z. B. in Branntwein, buntem Baumwollenzeug, Glasperlen, Gewehren, Pulver u. dergl. Gräßlich waren die Leiden, welche die Gefangenen auf der Seefahrt zu erdulden hatten. Die Schiffe wurden überladen, dicht zusammengedrängt und fast aufeinander mußten die Menschen darin liegen, oft zu zweien zusammengeschmiedet, schlecht ernährt, in pestilenzialischer Luft, selbst mit Trinkwasser nur aufs dürftigste versehen. In Amerika zwang man sie zuerst zu Bergwerksarbeiten, bald jedoch fast ausschließlich zur Bebauung des Ackers, der Zucker-, Reis- und Kaffeepflanzungen, wobei sie vielfach mit rücksichtsloser Härte behandelt wurden.

Einige Hundert Jahre lang betrieben christliche Völker des gebildetsten Erdteils dieses abscheuliche Geschäft ohne viel Bedenken und unter allerlei nichtigen Beschönigungen. Endlich aber erwachte doch das schlafende Gewissen, man erkannte die unendliche Sünde, die man beging, und begann an Besserung zu denken. Das Verdienst, in England die Abschaffung zunächst des Handels mit Sklaven herbeigeführt zu haben, hat sich Wilhelm Wilberforce erworben. Dieser edle Mann, Sohn eines Banquiers zu Hull und Gutsbesitzer in Yorkshire, der mit dem jüngeren Pitt in Cambridge studierte und später als Parlamentsmitglied aufs innigste mit demselben befreundet war, faßte um die Mitte der achtziger Jahre den ernstesten Entschluß,

die Abschaffung des Sklavenhandels sich zur Lebensaufgabe zu machen. Pitt versprach ihm sogleich seine eifrigste Unterstützung und setzte einen Ausschufs des *Geheimen Rates* zur Untersuchung der Sklavenfrage ein, welcher durch umfassendes Zeugenverhör viele der Scheußlichkeiten aufdeckte, die den Handel begleiteten. Darauf brachte Wilberforce die Angelegenheit in wiederholten Anträgen vor das Unterhaus, und als dieses auch am 2. April 1792 geschehen war und Dundas zu dem Wilberforce'schen Antrage das Amendement auf *allmähliche* Abschaffung eingebracht hatte, trat Pitt in der Rede über den Sklavenhandel für den Urantrag, also für *sofortige* Abschaffung ein. Dundas siegte, sein Antrag wurde mit 230 gegen 85 Stimmen angenommen.

Die französische Revolution oder vielmehr die aus ihr entspringenden Kriege unterbrachen nunmehr Wilberforce's Bestrebungen. Im Jahre 1804 aber nahm er sie wieder auf und hatte endlich die Genugthuung, daß ein Gesetz zu Stande kam (1807), welches den Sklavenhandel vom 1. Januar 1818 an für aufgehoben erklärte.

SPEECH ON THE SLAVE-TRADE.

At this hour of the morning I am afraid, Sir, I am too much exhausted to enter so fully into the subject before the committee as I could wish; but if my
 25 bodily strength is in any degree equal to the task, I feel so strongly the magnitude of this question, that I am extremely earnest to deliver my sentiments, which I rise to do with the more satisfaction, because
 30 I now look forward to the issue of this business with considerable hopes of success. The debate has this day taken a turn, which, though it has produced a variety of new suggestions, has, upon the whole, reduced this
 35 question to a much narrower point than it was ever brought into before. I cannot say that I quite agree with the right hon. gentleman over the way. I am

far from deploring all that has been said by my two hon. friends, I rather rejoice that they have now brought this subject to a fair issue, that something, at least, is already gained, and that the argument has taken altogether a new course this night. It is true, a difference of opinion has been stated, and has been urged with all the force of argument that could be given to it. But give me leave to say that this difference has been urged upon principles very far removed from those which were maintained by the opponents of my hon. friend when he first brought forward his motion. There are very few of those who have spoken this night, who have not declared the abolition of the slave trade to be their ultimate object. The point now in dispute between us is a difference merely as to the time at which the abolition ought to take place. I therefore congratulate this House, the country and the world, that this great point has been gained; that we may now consider this trade as having received its condemnation; that this curse of mankind is seen by the House in its true light; that this stigma on our national character is about to be removed; and that mankind are likely to be delivered from the greatest practical evil that ever afflicted the human race — from the severest and most extensive calamity recorded in the history of the world.

In proceeding to give my reasons for concurring with my hon. friend in his motion, I shall necessarily advert to those topics which my right hon. friends near me have touched upon, and which they stated to be their motives for preferring a gradual abolition, to the more immediate and direct measure now proposed. Beginning as I do, with declaring that in this respect I differ completely from my right hon. friends near me, I do not, however, mean to say, that I differ as to one observation which has been pressed rather strongly by them. If they can show that by proceeding gradually we shall arrive more speedily at an end, than by a direct vote immediately to abolish; if they can show that our proposition has more the appearance of a speedy abolition, than the reality; undoubtedly they

will in this case make a convert of every man among us who looks to this as a question not to be determined by theoretical principles or enthusiastic feelings, but considers the practicability of the measure —
5 aiming simply to effect his object in the shortest time, and in the surest possible manner. If, however, I shall be able to show that the slave trade will on our plan be abolished sooner than on theirs; may I not then hope that my right hon. friends will be as ready
10 to adopt our proposition as we should in the other case be willing to accede to theirs? — One of my hon. friends has stated that an act passed here for the abolition of slave trade would not secure its abolition. Now, Sir, I should be glad to know why an
15 act of the British legislature, enforced by all those sanctions which we have undoubtedly the power and the right to apply is not to be effectual; at least as to every material purpose. Will not the executive power have the same appointment of the officers and
20 of the courts of judicature, by which all the causes relating to this subject must be tried, that it has in other cases? Will there not be the same system of law by which we now maintain a monopoly of commerce? If the same law, Sir, be applied to the pro-
25 hibition of the slave trade, which is applied in the case of other contraband commerce, with all the same means of the country to back it, I am at a loss to know why the total abolition is not as likely to be effected in this way, as by any project of my right
30 hon. friends for bringing about a gradual termination of it. But my observation is strongly fortified by what fell from my hon. friend who spoke last. He has told you, Sir, that, if you will have patience with it for a few years, the slave trade must drop of itself,
35 from the increasing dearness of the commodity imported, and the increasing progress, on the other hand, of internal population. Is it true, then, that the importations are so expensive and disadvantageous already,

32. *to fall* und *to drop* kommen bei Rednern nicht selten in dem Sinne „geäußert werden“ vor.

that the internal population is even now becoming a cheaper resource? I ask, then, if you leave to the importer no means of importation but by smuggling, and if, besides all the present disadvantages, you load him with all the charges and hazards of the smuggler, 5 by taking care that the laws against smuggling are in this case rigorously enforced, is there any danger of any considerable supply of fresh slaves being poured into the islands through this channel? And is there any real ground of fear, because a few slaves may have 10 been smuggled in or out of the islands, that a bill will be ineffectual on any such ground? The question under these circumstances will not bear a dispute.

Perhaps, however, my hon. friends may take up another ground and say, "It is true your measure 15 would shut out further importations more immediately; but we think it right, on grounds of general expediency, that they should not be immediately shut out". Let us come then to this question of the expediency of making the abolition distant and gradual, rather 20 than immediate. The argument of expediency, in my opinion, will not justify the continuance of the slave trade for one unnecessary hour. Supposing it to be in our power (which I have shown it is) to enforce the prohibition from this present time, the expediency 25 of doing it is to me so clear, that, if I went on this principle alone, I should not feel a moment's hesitation. What is the argument of expediency, stated on the other side? It is doubted whether the deaths and births in the islands are as yet so nearly equal as to 30 ensure the keeping up of a sufficient stock of labourers. In answer to this, I took the liberty of mentioning, in a former year, what appeared to me to be the state of population at that time. My observations were taken from documents which we have reason to 35 judge authentic and which carried on the face of them the conclusions I then stated: they were the clear, simple, and obvious result of a careful examination which I made into this subject, and any gentleman who will take the same pains may arrive at the same 40 degree of satisfaction. These calculations, however,

applied to a period of time that is now four or five years past. The births were then, in the general view of them, nearly equal to the deaths; and, as the state of population was shown, by a considerable retrospect, 5 to be regularly increasing, an excess of births must before this time have taken place. Another observation has been made as to the disproportion of the sexes. This, however, is a disparity which will gradually diminish as the slave-trade diminishes, and 10 must entirely cease when the trade shall be abolished. I believe this disproportion of the sexes is not now by any means considerable. — But, Sir, I also showed, that the great mortality which turned the balance so as to make the deaths appear more numerous than 15 the births arose too from the imported Africans, who die in extraordinary numbers in the seasoning. If, therefore, the importation of negroes should cease, every one of the causes of mortality which I have now stated, would cease also. Nor can I conceive any 20 reason why the present number of labourers should not maintain itself in the West-Indies, except it be from some artificial cause, some fault in the islands; such as the impolicy of their governors, or the cruelty of the managers and officers, whom they employ. — I 25 will not repeat all that I said at that time, or go through island by island. It is true, there is a difference in the ceded islands; and I state them possibly to be, in some respects, an excepted case. But, if we are to enter into the subject of the mortality in clearing new islands, this, Sir, is undoubtedly 30 another question; the mortality here is tenfold; and this is to be considered, not as the carrying on of a trade, but as the setting on foot of a slave-trade for the purpose of peopling the colony; a measure which 35 I think will not now be maintained. I, therefore, desire gentlemen to tell me fairly whether the period they look to is not now arrived? Whether, at this hour, the West-Indies may not be declared to have actually attained a state in which they can maintain their population? And 40 upon the answer I must necessarily receive, I think, I could safely rest the whole of the question.

One hon. gentleman has rather ingeniously observed that one or other of these two assertions of ours must necessarily be false: that either the population must be decreasing, which we deny; or, if the population is increasing, that the slaves must be perfectly well 5 treated (this being the cause of such population), which we deny also. That the population is rather increasing than otherwise, and also that the general treatment is by no means so good as it ought to be, are both points which have been separately proved by different 10 evidences; nor are these two points so entirely incompatible. The ill treatment must be very great indeed, in order to diminish materially the population of any race of people. That it is not so extremely great as to do this, I will admit. I will even admit that this 15 charge may possibly have been sometimes exaggerated; and I certainly think that it applies less and less as we come nearer to the present times. But let us see how this contradiction of ours, as it is thought, really stands, and how the explanation of it will completely 20 settle our minds on the point in question. Do the slaves diminish in numbers? It can be nothing but ill treatment that causes the diminution. This ill treatment the abolition must and will restrain. In this case, therefore, we ought to vote for the abolition. 25 On the other hand, do you choose to say that the slaves clearly increase in numbers? Then you want no importations, and, in this case also, you may safely vote for the abolition. Or, if you choose to say, as the third and only other case which can be put, and 30 which perhaps is the nearest to the truth, that the population is nearly stationary and the treatment neither so bad nor so good as it might be, then surely, Sir, it will not be denied, that this of all others, is, on each of the two grounds, the proper period for 35 stopping further supplies: for your population, which you own is already stationary, will thus be made undoubtedly to increase from the births; and the good treatment of your present slaves, which I am now supposing is but very moderate, will be necessarily 40 improved also by the same measure of abolition. I

say, therefore, that these propositions, contradictory as they may be represented, are in truth not at all inconsistent, but even come in aid of each other, and lead to a conclusion that is decisive. And let it be always
5 remembered, that in this branch of my argument, I have only in view the well-being of the West-Indies, and do not now ground any thing on the African part of the question.

But, Sir, I may carry these observations respecting
10 the islands much further. It is within the power of the colonists (and is it not then their indispensable duty?) to apply themselves to the correction of those various abuses by which population is restrained. The most important consequences may be expected to
15 attend colonial regulations for this purpose. With the improvement of internal population, the condition of every negro will improve also; his liberty will advance, or at least he will be approaching to a state of liberty. Nor can you increase the happiness, or extend the
20 freedom of the negro, without adding in an equal degree to the safety of the islands, and of all their inhabitants. Thus, Sir, in the place of slaves, who naturally have an interest directly opposite to that of their masters, and are therefore viewed by them with
25 an eye of constant suspicion, you will create a body of valuable citizens and subjects, forming a part of the same community, having a common interest with their superiors in the security and prosperity of the whole. And here let me add, that, in proportion as
30 you increase the happiness of the unfortunate beings, you will undoubtedly increase in effect the quantity of their labour also. Gentlemen talk of the diminution of the labour of the islands. I will venture to assert, that, even if in consequence of the abolition there were
35 to be some decrease in the number of hands, the quantity of work done, supposing the condition of the slaves to improve, would by no means diminish in the same proportion: perhaps would be far from diminishing at all. For if you restore to this degraded race the true
40 feelings of men, if you take them out from among the order of brutes, and place them on a level with the

rest of the human species, they will then work with that energy which is natural to men, and their labour will be productive, in a thousand ways, above what it has yet been; as the labour of a man is always more productive than that of a mere brute. 5

It generally happens, that in every bad cause some information arises out of the evidence of its defenders themselves, which serves to expose in one part or other the weakness of their defence. It is the characteristic of such a cause, that, if it be at all gone into, even 10 by its own supporters, it is liable to be ruined by the contradictions in which those who maintain it are for ever involved. The committee of the privy council of Great Britain sent over certain queries to the West India Islands, with a view of elucidating the present 15 subject; and they particularly inquired, whether the negroes had any days' hours allotted to them, in which they might work for themselves. The assemblies in their answers, with an air of great satisfaction, state the labour of the slaves to be moderate, and the West 20 India system to be well calculated to promote the domestic happiness of the slaves; they add "that proprietors are not compelled by law to allow their slaves any part of the six working days of the week for themselves, but that it is the general practice to allow 25 them one afternoon in every week out of crop time, which, with such hours as they choose to work on Sundays, is time amply sufficient for their own purposes." Now, therefore, will the negroes, or I may rather say, do the negroes work for their own emolu- 30 ment? I beg the committee's attention to this point. The assembly of Grenada proceeds to state — I have their own words for it — "That, though the negroes are allowed the afternoons of only one day in every week, they will do as much work in that afternoon, 35 when employed for their own benefit, as in the whole day, when employed in their master's service." Now, Sir, I will allow you to burn all my calculations; to disbelieve, if you please, every word I have said on the present state of population; nay I will admit, for 40 the sake of argument, that the numbers are decreasing,

and the productive labour at present insufficient for the cultivation of those countries: and I will then ask whether the increase in the quantity of labour which is reasonably to be expected from the improved condition of the slaves, is not, by the admission of the islands themselves, far more than sufficient to counter-balance any decrease which can be rationally apprehended from a defective state of their population? Why, Sir, a negro, who works for himself, and not for a master, will do double work! This is their own account. If you will believe the planters, if you will believe the legislature of the islands, the productive labour of the colonies would, in case the negroes worked as free labourers instead of slaves, be literally doubled. Half the present labourers, on this supposition, would suffice for the whole cultivation of our islands on the present scale. I, therefore, confidently ask the House, whether, in considering the whole of this question, we may not fairly look forward to an improvement in the condition of these unhappy and degraded beings, not only as an event desirable on the ground of humanity and political prudence, but also as a means of increasing very considerably indeed (even without any increasing population) the productive industry of the islands? When gentlemen are so nicely balancing the past and future means of cultivating the plantations, let me request them to put this argument into the scale; and the more they consider it, the more will they be satisfied that both the solidity of the principle which I have stated, and the fact which I have just quoted in the very words of the colonial legislature, will bear me out in every inference I have drawn. I think they will perceive also that it is the undeniable duty of this House, on the ground of true policy, immediately to sanction and carry into effect that system which ensures those important advantages, in addition to all those other inestimable blessings which follow in their train.

If, therefore, the argument of expediency, as applying to the West India islands, is the test by which this question is to be tried, I trust I have now

established this proposition, namely, that whatever tends most speedily and effectually to meliorate the condition of the slaves, is undoubtedly, on the ground of expediency, leaving justice out of the question, the main object to be pursued. That the immediate abolition of the slave trade will most eminently have this effect, and that it is the only measure from which this effect can, in any considerable degree, be expected, are points to which I shall presently come; but before I enter upon them, let me notice one or two further circumstances. We are told (and by respectable and well-informed persons) that the purchase of new negroes has been injurious instead of profitable to the planters themselves, so large a proportion of these unhappy wretches being found to perish in the seasoning. Writers well versed in this subject have even advised that, in order to remove the temptation which the slave trade offers to expend large sums in this injudicious way, the door of importation should be shut. This very plan which we now propose, the mischief of which is represented to be so great as to outweigh so many other momentous considerations, has actually been recommended by some of the best authorities, as a plan highly requisite to be adopted, on the very principle of advantage to the island; nay, not merely on that principle of general and political advantage on which I have already touched, but for the advantage of the very individuals who would otherwise be most forward in purchasing slaves. On the part of the West Indians it is urged, "The planters are in debt: they are already distressed; if you stop the slave trade, they will be ruined." Mr. Long, the celebrated historian of Jamaica, recommends the stopping of importations, as a receipt for enabling the plantations which are embarrassed to get out of debt. Speaking of the usurious terms on which money is often borrowed for the purpose of fresh slaves, he advises "the laying of a duty equal to a prohibition on all negroes imported for the space of four or five years, except for re-exportation. "Such a law," he proceeds to say, "would be attended with the following good consequences. It

would put an immediate stop to these extorsions; it would enable the planter to retrieve his affairs by preventing him from running in debt, either by renting or purchasing negroes: it would render such recruits
5 less necessary, by the redoubled care he would be obliged to take of his present stock, the preservation of their lives and health; and lastly, it would raise the value of negroes in the island. A North American province, by this prohibition alone for a few years,
10 from being deeply plunged in debt, has become independent, rich, and flourishing." On this authority of Mr. Long I rest the question, whether the prohibition of further importations is that rash, impolitic, and completely ruinous measure, which it is so confidently
15 declared to be with respect to our Westindian plantations. I do not, however, mean, in thus treating this branch of the subject, absolutely to exclude the question of indemnification, on the supposition of possible disadvantages affecting the West Indies through the
20 abolition of the slave trade. But when gentlemen set up a claim of compensation merely on those general allegations which are all that I have yet heard of them, I can only answer, let them produce their case in a distinct and specific form, and if on any practi-
25 cable or seasonable grounds it shall claim consideration, it will then be time enough for parliament to decide upon it.

I now come to another circumstance of great weight, connected with this part of the question — I
30 mean the danger to which the islands are exposed from those negroes who are newly imported. This, Sir, is no mere speculation of ours: for here again I refer you to Mr. Long. He treats particularly of the dangers to be dreaded from the introduction of Coromantine negroes; an appellation under which are
35 comprised several descriptions of negroes obtained on the Gold Coast, whose native country is not exactly known, and who are purchased in a variety of markets, having been brought from some distance inland. With

1. *extorsions* bezieht sich auf usurious terms zurück.

a view of preventing insurrections, he advises that, "by laying a duty equal to a prohibition, no more of these Coromantines should be bought;" and after noticing one insurrection which happened through their means, he tells you of another in the following year, 5 in which thirty-three Coromantines, "most of whom had been newly imported, suddenly rose, and in the space of an hour murdered and wounded no less than ninety white persons." To the authority of Mr. Long I may add the recorded opinion of the committee of 10 the house of assembly of Jamaica itself; who, in consequence of a rebellion among the slaves, were appointed to inquire into the best means of preventing future insurrections. The committee reported, "That the rebellion 15 had originated (like most or all others) with the Coromantines; and they proposed that a bill should be brought in for laying a higher duty on the importation of these particular negroes," which was intended to operate as a prohibition. But the danger is not confined to the importation of Coromantines. Mr. Long, 20 carefully investigating as he does the causes of such frequent insurrections, particularly of Jamaica, accounts for them from the greatness of its general importations. "In two years and a half," says he, "27000 negroes have been imported. No wonder we 25 have rebellions! 27000 in two years and a half!" Why, Sir, I believe that in some late years there have been as many imported into the same island within the same period. Surely, when gentlemen talk so vehemently of the safety of the islands, and charge 30 us with being so indifferent to it; when they speak of the calamities of St. Domingo, and of similar dangers impending over their own heads at the present hour, it ill becomes them to be the persons who are crying out for further importations. It ill becomes them to 35 charge upon us the crime of stirring up insurrections — upon us who are only adopting the very principles which Mr. Long — which in part even the legislature of Jamaica itself laid down in the time of danger with an avowed view to the prevention of any such 40 calamity.

It is no small satisfaction to me, Sir, that among the many arguments for prohibiting the slave trade which crowd upon my mind, the security of our West India possessions against internal commotions, as well
5 as foreign enemies, is among the most prominent, and here let me apply to my most hon. friends, and ask them, whether in this part of the argument they do not see reasons for immediate abolition? Why should you any longer import into those countries that which
10 is the very seed of insurrection and rebellion? Why should you persist in introducing those latent principles of conflagration, which, if they should once burst forth, may annihilate in a single day the industry of a hundred years? Why will you subject yourselves,
15 with open eyes, to the imminent risk of a calamity, which may throw you back a whole century in your profits, in your cultivation, in your progress to the emancipation of your slaves? and disappointing at once every one of those golden expectations, may
20 retard not only the accomplishment of that happy system which I have attempted to describe, but may cut off even your opportunity of taking any one introductory step? Let us begin from this time. Let us not commit these important interests to any further hazard.
25 Let us prosecute this great object from this very hour. Let us vote that the abolition of the slave trade shall be immediate, and not left to I know not what future time or contingency. Will my right hon. friends answer for the safety of the islands during any imagi-
30 nable intervening period? Or do they think that any little advantage of the kind which they state, can have any weight in that scale of expediency in which this great question ought undoubtedly to be tried? Thus stated, and thus alone, Sir, can it be truly stated,
35 to what does the whole of my right hon. friends' arguments, on the head of expediency, amount? It amounts to this: the colonies on the one hand would have to struggle with some few difficulties and disadvantages at the first, for the sake of obtaining on
40 the other hand immediate security to their leading interests; of ensuring, Sir, even their own political

existence; and for the sake also of immediately commencing that system of progressive improvement in the condition of the slaves which is necessary to raise them from the state of brutes to that of rational beings, but which never can begin until the introduction of these disaffected and dangerous Africans into the same gangs shall have been stopped. If any argument can in the slightest degree justify the severity that is now so generally practised in the treatment of the slaves, it must be the introduction of these Africans. It is the introduction of these Africans that renders all idea of emancipation for the present so chimerical; and the very mention of it so dreadful. It is the introduction of these Africans that keeps down the condition of all plantation negroes. Whatever system of treatment is deemed necessary by the planters to be adopted towards these new Africans, extends itself to the other slaves also. Instead, therefore, of deferring the hour when you will finally put an end to importations, vainly purposing that the condition of your present slaves should previously be mended, you must, in the very first instance, stop your importations, if you hope to introduce any rational or practicable plan, either of gradual emancipation, or present general improvement.

Having now done with this question of expediency as affecting the islands, I come next to a proposition advanced by my right hon. friend, which appeared to intimate, that on account of some patrimonial rights of the West Indians, the prohibition of the slave trade might be considered as an invasion on their legal inheritance. Now, in answer to this proposition, I must make two or three remarks, which I think my right hon. friend will find some considerable difficulty in answering. — First, I observe that his argument, if it be worth anything, applies just as much to gradual as immediate abolition. I have no doubt, that, at whatever period he should be disposed to say the abolition should actually take place, this defence will equally be set up; for it certainly is just as good an argument against an abolition seven, or seventy years

hence, as against an abolition at this moment. It supposes we have no right whatever to stop the importations; and even though the disadvantages to our plantations, which some gentlemen suppose to attend
5 the measure of immediate abolition, should be admitted gradually to lessen by the lapse of a few years, yet in point of principle, the absence of all right of interfering would remain the same. My right hon. friend, therefore, I am sure, will not press an argument, not
10 less hostile to his proposition than to ours. But let us investigate the foundation of this observation, and I will commence what I have to say, by putting a question to my right hon. friend. It is chiefly on the presumed ground of our being bound by a parliamentary sanction, heretofore given to the African slave
15 trade, that this argument against the abolition is rested. Does, then, my right hon. friend think that the slave trade has received any such parliamentary sanction as must place it out of the jurisdiction of the legislature
20 for ever after, more, than the other branches of our national commerce? I ask, is there any one regulation of any part of our commerce, which, if this argument be valid, may not equally be objected to, on the ground of its affecting some man's patrimony, some man's pro-
25 perty, or some man's expectations? Let it never be forgotten that the argument I am canvassing would be just as strong, if the possession affected were small, and the possessors humble; for on every principle of justice, the property of any single individual, or small
30 number of individuals, is as sacred as that of the great body of West Indians. Justice ought to extend her protection with rigid impartiality to the rich and to the poor, to the powerful and to the humble. If this be the case, in what situation does my right hon.
35 friend's argument place the legislature of Great Britain? What room is left for their interference in the regulation of any part of our commerce? It is scarcely possible to lay a duty on any one article, which may not, when first imposed, be said in some way to affect the
40 property of individuals, and even of some entire classes of the community. If the laws respecting the slave

trade imply a contract for its perpetual continuance, I will venture to say, there does not pass a year without some act equally pledging the faith of parliament to the perpetuating of some other branch of commerce. In short, I repeat my observation, that no new tax can be imposed, much less can any prohibitory duty be ever laid on any branch of trade that has before been regulated by parliament, if this principle be once admitted. 5

Before I refer to the act of parliament by which the public faith is said to be pledged, let me remark also, that a contract for the continuance of the slave trade must on the principles which I shall presently insist on, have been void, even from the beginning; for if this trade is an outrage upon justice, and only another name for fraud, robbery, and murder, will any man urge that the legislature could possibly by any pledge whatever incur the obligation of being an accessory, or I may even say, a principal, in the commission of such enormities, by sanctioning their continuance? As well might an individual think himself bound by a promise to commit an assassination. I am confident, gentlemen must see that our proceedings on such ground, would infringe all the principles of law, and subvert the very foundations of morality. — Let us now see, how far the acts themselves show that there is this sort of parliamentary pledge to continue the African slave trade. The act of 23d Geo. 2d, c. 31, is that by which we are supposed to be bound up by contract to sanction all those horrors now so incontrovertibly proved. How surprised then, Sir, must the House be to find, that by the clause of that very act, some of these outrages are expressly forbidden! It says, "No commander or master of a ship, trading to Africa, shall by fraud, force, or violence, or by any indirect practice whatsoever, take on board or carry away from the coast of Africa, any negro, or native of the said country, or commit any violence on the natives, to the prejudice of the said trade, and that every person so offending shall for every such offence forfeit". — When it comes to the penalty, sorry am I 10 15 20 25 30 35 40

to say, that we see so close a resemblance to the West India law, which inflicts the payment of 30 £, as the punishment for murdering a negro. The price of blood in Africa is 100 £; but even this penalty
 5 is enough to prove that the act at least does not sanction, much less does it engage to perpetuate enormities. — But, Sir, let us see what was the motive for carrying on the trade at all? The preamble of the act states it, “Whereas the trade to and from
 10 Africa is very advantageous to Great Britain, and necessary for supplying the plantations and colonies thereunto belonging with a sufficient number of negroes at reasonable rates, and for that purpose the said trade should be carried on,” etc. Here then we see what
 15 the parliament had in view when it passed this act; and I have clearly shown that not one of the occasions on which it grounded its proceedings now exists. I may then plead, I think, the very act itself as an argument for the abolition. If it is shown, that, in-
 20 stead of being “very advantageous” to Great Britain, this trade is the most destructive that can well be imagined to her interests; that it is the ruin of our seamen; that it stops the extension of our manufactures; if it is proved in the second place that it is not now
 25 necessary for the “supplying our plantations with negroes;” if it is further established that this traffic was from the very beginning contrary to the first principles of justice, and consequently that a pledge for its continuance, had one been attempted to have been given,
 30 must have been completely and absolutely void; — where then, in this act of parliament, is the contract to be found by which Britain is bound, as she is said to be, never to listen to her own true interests, and to the cries of the natives of Africa? Is it not clear
 35 that all argument, founded on the supposed pledged faith of parliament, makes against those who employ it? I refer you to the principles which obtain in other

8. *preamble* heisst die Einleitung zu jeder Parlamentsakte. — 11. *plantations and colonies* ist nichts anderes, als die Kolonien, die auch bloß plant. genannt werden. — 37. *to obtain*, selten in dem Sinne „recht haben, Geltung haben, herrschen“.

cases. Every trade act shows undoubtedly that the legislature is used to pay a tender regard to all classes of the community. But if, for the sake of moral duty, of national honour, or even of great political advantage, it is thought right, by authority of parliament, 5 to alter any long established system, parliament is competent to do it. The legislature will undoubtedly be careful to subject individuals to as little inconvenience as possible; and if any peculiar hardship should arise that can be distinctly stated and fairly 10 pleaded, there will ever, I am sure, be a liberal feeling towards them in the legislature of this country, which is the guardian of all who live under its protection. On the present occasion, the most powerful considerations call upon us to abolish the slave trade: and if we 15 refuse to attend to them on the alleged ground of pledged faith and contract, we shall depart as widely from the practice of parliament as from the path of moral duty. If, indeed, there is any case of hardship, which comes within the proper cognizance of parliament, 20 and calls for the exercise of its liberality, — well! But such a case must be preserved for calm consideration, as a matter distinct from the present question.

The result of all I have said, is, that there exists no impediment, on the ground of pledged faith, or even 25 on that of national expediency, to the abolition of this trade. On the contrary, all the arguments drawn from those sources plead for it, and they plead much more loudly, and much more strongly in every part of the question, for an immediate, than for a gradual abolition. 30 But now, Sir, I come to Africa. That is the ground on which I rest, and here it is that I say my right hon. friends do not carry their principles to their full extent. Why ought the slave trade to be abolished? Because it is incurable injustice. How much stronger, 35 then, is the argument for immediate, than for gradual abolition! By allowing it to continue even for one hour, do not my right hon. friends weaken their own argument of its injustice? If on the ground of injustice it ought to be abolished at last, why ought it 40 not now? Why is injustice to be suffered to remain

for a single hour? From what I hear without doors,
it is evident that there is a general conviction enter-
tained of its being far from just; and from that very
conviction of its injustice, some men have been led, I
5 fear, to the supposition that the slave trade never
could have been permitted to begin, but from some
strong and irresistible necessity: a necessity, however,
which, if it was fancied to exist at first, I have shown
cannot be thought by any man whatever to exist now.
10 This plea of necessity has caused a sort of acquies-
cence in the continuance of this evil. Men have been
led to place it among the rank of those necessary evils
which are supposed to be the lot of human creatures
and to be permitted to fall on some countries or in-
15 dividuals, rather than upon others, by that Being
whose ways are inscrutable to us, and whose dispen-
sations, it is conceived, we ought not to look into. The
origin of evil is indeed a subject beyond the reach of
human understandings; and the permission of it by
20 the Supreme Being, is a subject into which it belongs
not to us to inquire. But where the evil in question
is a moral evil which a man can scrutinize, and where
that moral evil has its origin with ourselves, let us
not imagine that we can clear our consciences by this
25 general, not to say irreligious and impious way of
laying aside the question. If we reflect at all on this
subject, we must see that every necessary evil sup-
poses that some other and greater evil would be in-
curred, were it removed. I, therefore, desire to ask
30 what can be that greater evil which can be stated to
overbalance the one in question? I know of no evil
that ever has existed, nor can imagine any evil to
exist, worse than the tearing of seventy or eighty
thousand persons annually from their native land, by
35 a combination of the most civilised nations, inhabiting
the most enlightened part of the globe, but more
especially under the sanction of the laws of that nation
which calls herself the most free and the most happy
of them all. Even if these miserable beings were

1. *without doors*, außerhalb des Parlaments, im Publikum.

proved guilty of every crime before you take them off, ought we to take upon ourselves the office of executioners? And even if we condescend so far, still can we be justified in taking them, unless we have clear proof that they are criminals? — But, if we go much further, — if we ourselves tempt them to sell their fellow creatures to us — we may rest assured that they will take care to provide, by every possible method, a supply of victims increasing in proportion to our demand. Can we, then, hesitate in deciding whether the wars in Africa are their wars or ours? It was our arms in the river Cameroon, put into the hands of the trader, that furnished him with the means of pushing his trade; and I have no more doubt that they are British arms, put into the hands of Africans, which promote universal war and desolation, than I can doubt of their having done so in that individual instance.

I have shown how great is the enormity of this evil, even on the supposition that we take only convicts and prisoners of war. But take the subject in the other way, and how does it stand? Think of 80000 persons carried out of their native country by we know not what means! for crimes imputed! for light or inconsiderable faults! for debt perhaps! for the crime of witchcraft! or a thousand other weak and scandalous pretexts? Reflect on these 80000 persons thus annually taken off! There is something in the horror of it that surpasses all the bounds of imagination. Admitting that there exists in Africa something like to courts of justice; yet what an office of humiliation and meanness is it in us, to take upon ourselves to carry into execution the iniquitous sentences of such courts, as if we also were strangers to all religion and to the first principles of justice! But that country, it is said, has been in some degree civilized, and civilized by us. It is said they have gained some knowledge of the principles of justice. Yes, we give them enough of our intercourse to convey

1. *take them off*, nämlich from Africa.

to them the means, and to initiate them in the study of mutual destruction. We give them just enough of the forms of justice to enable them to add the pretext of legal trials to their other modes of perpetrating the
5 most atrocious iniquity. We give them just enough of European improvements to enable them the more effectually to turn Africa into a ravaged wilderness. Some evidences say that the Africans are addicted to the practice of gambling; that they even sell their
10 wives and children, and ultimately themselves. Are these, then, the legitimate sources of slavery? Shall we pretend that we can thus acquire an honest right to exact the labour of these people? Can we pretend that we have a right to carry away, to distant regions, men
15 of whom we know nothing by authentic inquiry, and of whom there is every reasonable presumption to think that those who sell them to us have no right to do so? But the evil does not stop here. Do you think nothing of the ruin and the miseries in which
20 so many other individuals, still remaining in Africa, are involved in consequence of carrying off so many myriads of people? Do you think nothing of their families left behind? of the connexions broken? of the friendships, attachments, and relationships that are
25 burst asunder? Do you think nothing of the miseries in consequence that are felt from generation to generation? of the privation of that happiness which might be communicated to them by the introduction of civilization and of mental and moral improvement? A
30 happiness which you withhold from them so long as you permit the slave-trade to continue.

Thus, Sir, has the perversion of British commerce carried misery instead of happiness to one whole of the globe. False to the very principles of trade, mis-
35 guided in our policy, and unmindful of our duty, what astonishing mischief have we brought on that continent! If, knowing the miseries we have caused, we refuse to put a stop to them, how greatly aggravated will be the guilt of this country! Shall we, then, delay ren-
40 dering this justice to Africa? I am sure the immediate abolition of the slave-trade is the first, the

principal, the most indispensable act of policy, of duty, and of justice, that the legislature of this country has to take, if it is indeed their wish to secure those important objects to which I have alluded, and which we are bound to pursue by the most solemn obligations. There is, however, one argument set up as a universal answer to every thing that can be urged on our side. The slave-trade system, it is supposed, has taken such deep root in Africa that it is absurd to think of its being eradicated, and the abolition of that share of the trade, carried on by Great Britain, is likely to be of very little service. You are not sure, it is said, that other nations will give up the trade, if you should renounce it. I answer, if this trade is as criminal as it is asserted to be, God forbid that we should hesitate in relinquishing so iniquitous a traffic; even though it should be retained by other countries! I tremble at the thought of gentlemen's indulging themselves in the argument which I am combating. "We are friends", they say, "to humanity. We are second to none of you in our zeal to the good of Africa — but the French will not abolish, — the Dutch will not abolish. We wait, therefore, on prudential principles, till they join us or set us an example". How, Sir, is this enormous evil ever to be eradicated, if every nation is thus prudentially to wait till the concurrence of all the world shall have been obtained? Let me remark, too, that there is no nation in Europe that has, on one hand, plunged so deeply into this guilt as Great Britain; or that is so likely, on the other, to be looked up as an example. But, does not this argument apply a thousand times more strongly in a contrary way? How much more justly may other nations point to us, and say, "Why should we abolish the slave-trade when Great Britain has not abolished it? Britain, free as she is, just and honourable as she is, and deeply involved as she is in this commerce above all nations, not only has not abolished, but has refused to abolish. This, Sir, is the argument with which we furnish the other nations of Europe if we again refuse to put an end to the slave-trade. In-

stead, therefore, of imagining that by choosing to presume on their continuing it, we shall have exempted ourselves from guilt, and have transferred the whole criminality to them; let us rather reflect, that on the
5 very principle urged against us we shall henceforth have to answer for their crimes as well as our own.

It has also been urged that there is something in the disposition and nature of the Africans themselves which renders all prospect of civilization on that continent extremely unpromising. "It has been known",
10 says Mr. Frazer, in his evidence, „that a boy has been put to death who was refused to be purchased as a slave". This single story was deemed by that gentleman a sufficient proof of the barbarity of the Africans,
15 and of the inutility of abolishing the slave-trade. My hon. friend, however, has told you that this boy had previously run away from his master three times; that the master had to pay his value according to the custom of the country every time he was brought back,
20 and that, partly from anger at the boy for running away so frequently, and partly to prevent a repetition of the same expense, he determined to put him to death. This, Sir, is the single instance that has been dwelt upon of African barbarity. This African, we admit, was
25 unenlightened, and altogether barbarous; but let us now ask what would a civilized and enlightened West Indian, or a body of West Indians, have done in any case of a parallel nature? I will quote you, Sir, a law passed in the West Indies in 1722; by which law this
30 same crime of running away, is, by the legislature of the island, punished with death in the very first instance. I hope, therefore, we shall hear no more of the moral impossibility of civilizing the Africans, nor have our understandings again insulted by being called
35 upon to sanction the trade, until other nations shall have set the example of abolishing it. While we have been deliberating, one nation, Denmark, not by any means remarkable for the boldness of its councils, has determined on a gradual abolition. France, it is said,
40 will take up the trade, if we relinquish it. What! Is it supposed that, in the present situation of St. Domingo,

an island which used to take three fourths of all the slaves required by the colonies of France, she, of all countries, will think of taking it up? Of the countries which remain, Portugal, Holland, and Spain — let me declare it is my opinion, that if they see us renounce 5 the trade, they will not be disposed, even on principles of policy, to rush further into it. But I say more. How are they to furnish the capital necessary for carrying it on? If there is any aggravation of our guilt, in this wretched business, it is that we have stooped 10 to be the carriers of these miserable beings from Africa to the West Indies for all the other powers of Europe. And, if we retire from the trade, where is the fund equal to the purchase of 30 or 40000 slaves? A fund, which, if we rate the slaves at 40 £ or 50 £ each, 15 cannot require a capital of less than a million and a half, or two millions of money.

Having detained the House so long, all that I will further add, shall relate to that important subject, the civilization of Africa. Grieved am I to think that 20 there should be a single person in this country who can look on the present uncivilized state of that continent as a ground for continuing the slave trade, or a ground not only for refusing to attempt the improvement of Africa, but even for intercepting every ray 25 of light which might otherwise break in upon her. Here, as in every other branch of this extensive question, the argument of our adversaries pleads against them; for, surely, Sir, the present deplorable state of Africa, especially when we reflect that her chief cala- 30 mities are to be ascribed to us, calls for our generous aid, rather than justifies any despair on our part of her recovery, and still less any further repetition of our injuries. I will not much longer fatigue the attention of the House; but this point has impressed so 35 deeply on my mind that I must trouble the committee with a few additional observations. Are we justified, I ask, on any one ground of theory, or by any one instance to be found in the history of the world, from its very beginning to this day, in forming the suppo- 40 sition which I am now combating? Are we justified

in supposing that the particular practice which we encourage in Africa, of men selling each other for slaves, is any symptom of a barbarism that is incurable? Are we justified in supposing that even the
5 practice of offering up human sacrifices proves a total incapacity for civilization? I believe it will be found that both the trade in slaves, and the still more savage custom of offering up human sacrifices, obtained in former periods throughout many of those nations
10 which now, by the blessings of Providence, and by a long progression of improvements, are advanced the farthest in civilization. I believe that, if we reflect an instant, we shall find that this observation comes directly home to ourselves; and that, on the same
15 ground on which we are now disposed to proscribe Africa for ever from all possibility of improvement, we might, in like manner, have been proscribed and for ever shut out from all the blessings which we now enjoy. There was a time, Sir, when even human sacri-
20 fices are said to have been offered in this island. But I would peculiarly observe on this day, for it is a case precisely in point, that the very practice of the slave trade once prevailed among us. Slaves as we may read in Henry's History of Great Britain, were
25 formerly an established article of our export. "Great numbers", he says, "were exported like cattle from the British coast, and were to be seen exposed for sale in the Roman market". It does not distinctly appear by what means they were procured; but there is unques-
30 tionably no small resemblance, in this particular point between the case of our ancestors and that of the present wretched natives of Africa; for the historian tells you that "adultery, witchcraft and debt were probably some of the chief sources of supplying the Roman mar-
35 ket with British slaves; that prisoners taken in war were added to the number; and that there might be among them some unfortunate gamesters, who, after having lost all their goods, at length staked themselves, their wives, and their children". Every one of
40 these sources of slavery has been stated to be at this hour a source of slavery in Africa. And these circum-

stances, Sir, with a solitary instance or two of human sacrifices, furnish the alleged proofs that Africa labours under a natural incapacity for civilization; that it is enthusiasm and fanaticism to think that she can ever enjoy the knowledge and the morals of Europe; that Providence never intended her to rise above a state of barbarism; that Providence has irrevocably doomed her to be only a nursery for slaves for us free and civilized Europeans. Allow of this principle, as applied to Africa, and I should be glad to know why it might not also have been applied to ancient and civilized Britain. Why might not some Roman senator, reasoning on the principle of some hon. gentlemen, and pointing to British barbarians, have predicted with equal boldness, "There is a people which will never rise to civilization; there is a people destined never to be free; a people without the understanding necessary for the attainment of useful arts, depressed by the hand of nature below the level of the human species, and created to form a supply of slaves for the rest of the world". Might not this have been said in all respects as fairly and as truly of Britain herself, at that period of her history, as it can now be said by us of the inhabitants of Africa? We, Sir, have long since emerged from barbarism; we have almost forgotten that we were once barbarians; we are now raised to a situation which exhibits a striking contrast to every circumstance by which a Roman might have characterised us, and by which we now characterise Africa. There is, indeed, one thing wanting to complete the contrast, and to clear us altogether from the imputation of acting even to this hour as barbarians; for we continue to this hour a barbarous traffic in slaves; we continue it even yet, in spite of all our great and undeniable pretensions to civilization. We were once as obscure to the nations of the earth, as savage in our manners, as debased in our understandings, as these unhappy Africans are at present. But in the lapse of a long series of years, by a progression slow, and for a time, almost imperceptible, we have become rich in a variety of acquirements, favoured above

measure in the gifts of Providence, unrivalled in commerce, preeminent in arts, foremost in the pursuits of philosophy and science, and established in all the blessings of civil society; we are in the possession of
5 peace, of happiness and of liberty; we are under the guidance of a mild and beneficent religion; and we are protected by impartial laws and the purest administration of justice; we are living under a system of government which our own happy experience leads
10 us to pronounce the best and wisest which has ever yet been framed; a system which has become the admiration of the world. From all these blessings, we must for ever have been shut out, had there been any truth in those principles which some gentlemen
15 have not hesitated to lay down as applicable to the case of Africa. Had those principles been true, we ourselves had languished to this hour in that miserable state of ignorance, brutality, and degradation in which history proves our ancestors to have been immersed.
20 Had other nations adopted these principles in their conduct towards us; had other nations applied to Great Britain the reasons which some of the senators of this very island now apply to Africa, ages might have passed without our emerging from barbarism; and we
25 who are enjoying the blessings of a British civilization, of British laws, and British liberty might, at this hour, have been little superior, either in morals, in knowledge, or refinement, to the rude inhabitants of the coast of Guinea.

30 If, then, we feel that this perpetual confinement in the fetters of brutal ignorance would have been the greatest calamity which could have befallen us; if we view with gratitude and exultation the contrast between the peculiar blessings we enjoy, and the wretchedness of the ancient inhabitants of Britain, if we
35 shudder to think of the misery which would have overwhelmed us, had Great Britain continued to be the market for slaves for the more civilized nations of the world, God forbid that we should any longer
40 subject Africa to the same dreadful scourge, and preclude the light of knowledge which has reached every

other quarter of the globe from having access to her coasts! I trust we shall no longer continue this commerce to the destruction of every improvement on that wide continent; and shall not consider ourselves as conferring too great a boon in restoring its inhabitants to the rank of human beings. I trust we shall not think ourselves too liberal, if, by abolishing the slave trade, we give them the same common chance of civilization with other parts of the world, and that we shall now allow to Africa the opportunity, the hope, the prospect of attaining to the same blessings which we ourselves, through the favourable dispensations of divine Providence, have been permitted, at a much more early period, to enjoy. If we listen to the voice of reason and duty, and pursue this night the conduct which they prescribe, some of us may live to see a reverse of that picture from which we now turn our eyes with shame and regret. We may live to see the natives of Africa engaged in the calm occupations of industry, in the pursuits of a just and legitimate commerce. We may behold the beams of science and philosophy breaking in upon their land, which, at some happy period in still later times, may blaze with full lustre; and joining their influence to that of pure religion, may illuminate and invigorate the most distant extremities of that immense continent. Then may we hope that even Africa, though last of all the quarters of the globe, shall enjoy at length, in the evening of her days, those blessings which have descended so plentifully upon us in a much earlier period of the world. Then also will Europe, participating in her improvement and prosperity, receive an ample recompense for the tardy kindness (if kindness it can be called) of no longer hindering that continent from extricating herself and of the darkness which, in other more fortunate regions, has been so much more speedily depelled.

*Nosque ubi primus equis oriens afflavit anhelis;
Illic sera rubens accendit lumina vesper.*

Then, Sir, may be applied to Africa those words, originally used indeed with a different view:

His demum exactis —

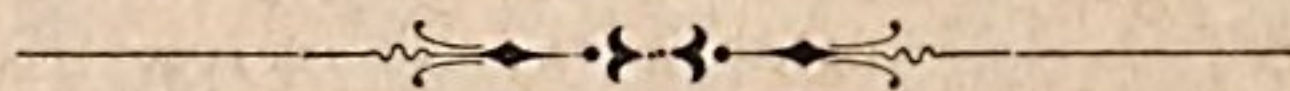
Devenere locos laetos, et amoena vireta

Fortunatorum nemorum, sedesque beatas:

Largior hic campos Aether, et lumine vestit

5 *Purpureo.*

It is in this view, Sir, it is as an atonement for our long and cruel injustice, that the measure proposed by my hon. friend most forcibly recommends itself to my mind. The great and happy change to be expected
10 in the state of her inhabitants, is, of all the various and important benefits of the abolition, in my estimation, incomparably the most extensive and important. I shall vote, Sir, against the adjournment, and I shall also oppose to the utmost every proposition which in
15 any way may tend either to prevent, or even to postpone for an hour, the total abolition of the slave-trade: a measure which, on all the various grounds which I have stated, we are bound, by the most pressing and indispensable duty, to adopt.





Anmerkungen.

(Von den vor jeder Anmerkung stehenden Zahlen bezeichnet die fetter gedruckte die Seite, die mit mageren Ziffern gedruckte die Zeile, zu welcher die Anmerkung gehört.)

10, 2. *his Majesty's speech* ist die Thronrede, mit welcher der König das Parlament eröffnet hatte. — *the proposed address* ist die darauf zu gebende Antwort, über welche das Unterhaus eben beriet.

18. *the late ministry* ist das Ministerium Grenville, welches die Stempelakte durchgesetzt hatte.

21. *the present gentlemen* sind die Mitglieder des Ministeriums Rockingham, welches dem Grenvilleschen im vorigen Jahre gefolgt war. Pitt blickt die von ihnen im Hause Anwesenden bei diesen Worten an.

31. *aged bosom*. Pitt war 58 Jahre alt, fühlte sich aber bei seinem kränklichen Zustande viel älter.

11, 3. *overruling influence*. Pitt war mit vielen Politikern lange Zeit der festen Überzeugung, daß der Graf Bute noch immer geheimen Einfluß auf den König und dadurch auch auf die Maßnahmen des Ministeriums Rockingham ausübe.

5. *Act of Settlement* heißt dasjenige Gesetz, durch welches im Jahre 1701 dem Hause Hannover die Thronfolge gesichert wurde. Es enthält außerdem wichtige Verfassungsbestimmungen.

13. *Tweed*, ein Grenzfluß zwischen England und Schottland.

I sought for merit u. s. w. Während des österreichischen Erbfolgekrieges (the war before the last) machte Karl Eduard Stuart, Enkel Jakobs II., von Schottland aus und mit schottischen Truppen den Versuch, den englischen Thron wiederzugewinnen. Während des siebenjährigen Kriegs liefs Pitt zwei Bataillone schottischer Hochländer anwerben, welche sich in Amerika sehr auszeichneten.

30. *incompatible with freedom*. Bute sann allerdings auf Stärkung der Gewalt des Königs auf Kosten des Parlaments.

31. *Speaker*, der Präsident des Unterhauses. An diesen, nicht an die Mitglieder des Hauses, werden formell alle Reden gerichtet.

12, 15. *that subject only excepted* ist die Revolution von 1688.

41. *three estates of the realm* sind die Krone (der König), das Oberhaus oder Haus der Lords (Peers) und das Unterhaus oder Haus der Gemeinen (Commons).

13, 1. *the concurrence of the Peers*. Das Unterhaus hat in Steuerbewilligungen das Vorrecht, daß die Vorlage der Regierung zuerst von ihm, darnach erst von dem Oberhause beraten wird. Übrigens ist formell kein Unterschied zwischen einem Steuergesetz und jedem anderen Gesetz.

5. *baron* wird ehemals jeder Lord oder Peer genannt. Der Titel verleiht von Richard II. an das Recht auf Sitz und Stimme im Oberhause.

8. *since the discovery of America*. Seitdem die Commons durch Handel und Industrie wohlhabend geworden sind und Grundbesitz erworben haben.

11. *the church*. Die Kirche, welche nach der normännischen Eroberung von den 60,000 Lehnsgütern des Landes 28,000 besaß, verlor den größten Teil ihres Grundeigentums unter Heinrich VIII.

16. *the rest of the inhabitants* sind diejenigen, welche kein Wahlrecht haben.

33. *virtually*. Viel besser stand es freilich auch nicht mit der virtuellen Vertretung, von der eben die Rede war.

35. *knight of the shire* heißt der von der Grafschaft (shire) gewählte, ehemals wirklich dem Ritterstande angehörige Abgeordnete.

14, 1. *borough* heißt jede Stadt, die das Wahlrecht hat. Dieses Recht hatten damals viele unbedeutende fast vom Erdboden verschwundene boroughs, z. B. Old Sarum bei Salisbury, das aus zwei verfallenen Häusern bestand. Solche Orte nannte man *rotten boroughs*. Durch die Reformbill von 1832 haben sie das Wahlrecht meistens verloren.

10. *Assemblies*. Jede Kolonie hatte eine im Ganzen dem englischen Parlamente nachgebildete gesetzgebende Versammlung.

20. *Quam ultra* u. s. w. Nach Horaz, Sat. I, 1, 106 ff:

Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines

Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.

16, 21. *my Lords*. Während im Unterhause der Redner seine Rede an den Präsidenten richtet, wendet er sich im Oberhause an die Mitglieder des Hauses selbst.

27. *in the first part of the address*. In diesem auf den Eingang folgenden ersten Teil beantragte Percy, dem Könige zu der Geburt einer Tochter zu gratulieren.

28. *the noble earl* ist der earl of Percy. Es ist in beiden Häusern unstatthaft, ein Mitglied, von welchem man sprechen will, mit Namen zu nennen.

31. *protestant succession* ist das Haus Hannover, welches man wohl als die protestantische Linie des Hauses Stuart hinstellte. (Jakob I, Königin Elisabeth von Böhmen, Kurfürstin Sophie von Hannover, Georg I.)

17, 2. *blind and servile*. Die Adresse wiederholte der Gewohnheit gemäß möglichst wörtlich die Thronrede, welche Fortsetzung des Kriegs gegen Amerika ankündigte.

33. *the minister of the day* ist der gegenwärtige Premierminister Lord North.

18, 5. *but yesterday* u. s. w. Vgl. Antonius Rede in Shakespeares Julius Cäsar, Akt III, Sc. 2:

But yesterday, the word of Cæsar might

Have stood against the world: now lies he there,

And none so poor to do him reverence.

16. *French interference*. Officiös, aber unmittelbar amtlich

unterhandelte Frankreich schon länger mit den Amerikanern; 1778 schloß es ein förmliches Bündnis mit ihnen.

19, 10. *le Marque*. Dies geschah 1572.

27. *a most able general*. General-Major Amherst, später in den Adelstand erhoben, führte im siebenjährigen Kriege ein Kommando in Nordamerika und vertrieb die Franzosen von Cap Breton.

34. *the northern force* ist die des Generals Burgoyne, die am 17. Oktober 1777 bei Saratoga unfern von Albany im Staate New-York die Waffen streckte. Die Nachricht davon gelangte erst Anfang December nach England.

36. *Howe* operierte in diesem Jahre gegen Philadelphia, wurde aber von Washington zum Rückzuge gezwungen und nur durch die englische Flotte vor dem Schicksale Burgoynes bewahrt.

20, 4. *German prince*. England erhielt damals Truppen nicht nur von Hessen-Kassel, sondern auch von Braunschweig, Waldeck, Anhalt und Anspach.

22, 16. *the middle and the southern provinces*. Allerdings war der Geist des Widerstandes am stärksten in den nördlichen Provinzen, ganz besonders in Massachusetts.

31. *the county I live in*. Pitt wohnte zu Hayes in der Grafschaft Kent.

23, 6. *the gentleman* ist Washington.

9. *penal acts* u. s. w. Vergl. Einleitung Seite 15.

11. *attainder* ist eine durch Gesetz (nicht durch das Gericht) verhängte Verurteilung zum Tode, welche Einziehung des Vermögens und Verlust der bürgerlichen Ehrenrechte sowie des Adels nach sich zieht.

12. *foreign powers*. Hier irrt sich der Redende, denn die Thronrede erwähnt ausdrücklich der Rüstungen Frankreichs und Spaniens.

23. *Streights*, gewöhnlich *straits*, hier die Meeresenge von Gibraltar.

26. *Not 5000 troops* u. s. w. Die hier gemachten Angaben wurden von dem Ministerium für ungenau und unrichtig erklärt; doch wurde zugegeben, daß der englische Handel nicht immer genügend habe geschützt werden können. Im Tajo liege ein englisches Kriegsschiff.

24, 15. *who have been guilty*. Das sind die Minister.

36. *echo*. Vgl. Anm. zu 17, 2.

32, 23. *At this hour of the morning*. Pitt war der letzte Redner in der Debatte, welche weit über Mitternacht hinaus dauerte.

25. *committee*. Die Verhandlung fand in einem Ausschuss statt, zu welchem alle Mitglieder des Hauses gehören (*committee of the whole House*). Man wählt diese Form hauptsächlich, um bei eingehenden Untersuchungen von Thatfragen gewisse Förmlichkeiten, zu welchen die Parlamentsordnung in den gewöhnlichen Sitzungen zwingt, zu vermeiden. — Der mit *Sir* Angeredete ist hier nicht der Präsident (*speaker*) des Unterhauses, sondern das Komite hat seinen besonderen Vorsitzenden (*chairman*).

36. *the right hon. gentleman* ist die gewöhnliche Bezeichnung eines Parlamentsmitgliedes ohne Titel. Vgl. Anm. zu 16, 28.

Hier ist Charles James Fox gemeint, welcher auf der andern Seite des Ganges (over the way) sitzt.

33, 1. *my two hon. friends* sind Dundas und der Präsident, welche für allmähliche Abschaffung des Sklavenhandels gesprochen hatten, während Fox mit Pitt für sofortige Aufhebung auftrat.

11. *my hon. friend* ist Wilberforce.

34, 23. *monopoly of commerce* hatte England seinen Kolonien gegenüber durch die Navigationsacte von 1660 (eigentlich von 1654).

35, 32. *I took the liberty of mentioning*. Dies hatte Pitt in einer Rede vom 18. April 1791 gethan.

36, 27. *ceded islands* sind die in einem gewissen Zustande der Kultur von anderen Völkern abgetretenen Inseln.

39, 13. *the committee of the privy council* ist der aus einer gröfseren Anzahl von Personen bestehende geheime Rat des Königs. Übrigens vgl. Einl. S. 32.

40, 14. *free labourers*. Dieser Schluss trifft nicht ganz zu. Freie Arbeiter faulenzten auch, wenn sie für andere arbeiten sollen.

44, 18. *emancipation*. An die Freilassung der Sklaven dachte man damals in England nur sehr schüchtern. Beschlossen wurde sie erst 1834.

45, 7. *the same gangs*. Die Banden von Negern, die bereits in Westindien sind.

28. *right hon. friend* ist hier wieder Dundas.

47, 28. *23d Geo. 2d, c. 31*. Die Akte aus dem 23. Regierungsjahre Georgs II., Kapitel 31. Die Gesetze werden nach den Regierungsjahren der Könige citiert.

41. *forfeit*, nämlich 100 £.

51, 11. *the wars in Africa*. Die zur Gewinnung von Kriegsgefangenen für den Sklavenmarkt von afrikanischen Fürsten geführten Kriege.

12. *Cameroon*. Der Camerun- oder Gabunfluß ist mehr Meeresarm als eigentlicher Fluß an der Westküste Afrikas, etwa 5⁰ nördl. Br.

54, 41. *St. Domingo*. Diese Insel war damals in Folge der von Frankreich dahin gelangten Freiheitsideen in großer Gährung. Zwei Jahre später erklärte der französische Convent die Neger für frei.

55, 11. *carriers*. Wir haben überhaupt den Sklavenhandel im weitesten Umfange betrieben, die andern Völker grossteils mit versorgt.

56, 23. *slave trade prevailed*. Dies war zu britisch-römischer, nicht zu angelsächsischer Zeit, so daß das folgende *our ancestors* nur im weiteren Sinne zutrifft.

59, 15. *this night*. Vgl. den Anfang der Rede.

37. *nosque ubi primus* Vgl. Vergil, Georgica, I, 250.

60, 1. *his demum exactis* Vgl. Vergil, Aeneis, VI, 637.



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